The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book the Ginza Rba

Sabah Aldihisi

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

University College London

UMI Number: U591390

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U591390
Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Abstract:

Sources of the research: The Mandaean holy books and scriptures in addition to old Moslem writers and contemporary western scholars' works.

The purpose of the research:

The research aims to translate the Mandaean Story of Creation, directly from the Mandaean manuscript. Four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India office at the British Library in London were used to compile a critical apparatus of variants. Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the "Ginza Rba". The Ginza names this tractate as *raza usidra qadmaia ḏ-šuta haita qadmaita* "The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine". This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the World of Light and the World of Darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Fourth Life (Ptahil); the Demiurge who created the cosmos and Tibil (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia ("Gnosis of Life") and his descent to the Underworld and his triumph against the forces of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *ʿṣṭōna* (the human body). Tractate three also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

The research consists of three parts:

(1) The introduction: The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin, The Mandaean system, The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans, The Mandaean manuscripts.

(2) Analysis of the narrative: The First Account of the Story of Creation, The Second Account of the Story of Creation, The Third account of the Story of Creation.

(3) The Transcription and Translation of the Manuscript.

Acknowledgments

With my deepest gratitude, I would like to thank everyone who has helped me throughout every aspect of my research, and a special thanks to Wingate Scholarship and their administrator Ms. Faith Clark for their encouragement and financial support. I am especially indebted to Professor Mark Geller of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Dept at UCL, for his excellent guidance and support during my research.

I would also like to thank the Mandaean Priests Rabi Rafid al-Sabti (Holland), Rabi Salwan Shakir (Sweden) and Yalupa Salim al-Kuhaili (Iran) for their much appreciated help and advice, Dr. Abdul-Atheem al-Sabit (UK), Dr. Qais al-Sadi (Germany), Mr. Carlos Gilbert (Australia), Mr Majid Arabi (Sweden), Mr. Sa'ad Dehays (U.S.A) and Mr Eli Timan (UK) for their valuable counsel and support. And finally my family who has stood by me patiently and consistently supported my efforts.

Contents:

Abbreviations 10

The Mandaic Alphabet 12

§1 Introduction 14

§1.1 The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin 15

§1.2 The Mandaean System 23

§1.3 Mandaism and Gnosticism 25

§1.3.1 General Parallels and Differences between Gnosticism and Mandaeism 29

§1.4 The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans 31

§1.4.1 Baptism ࡌࡀ ࡑ ࡀ *maṣbuta* 31

§1.4.2 Ascent of the Soul ࡌ ࡀ ࡑ ࡀ *masqita* 35

§1.5 The Mandaean Calendar 37

§1.6 Mandaean Feasts 41

§1.6.1 The Five Days of Creation ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ Parwanaiia (Panja) 41

§1.6.2 The New Year Dihba Rba ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ 42

§1.6.3 The Little New Year ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ Dihba d-Šišlam Rba 44

§1.6.4 The Little Feast ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ Dihba Hnina 44

§1.7 Curses and Incantations ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ ࡀ *luṭata uqiriata* 45

§1.8 The Mandaean Manuscripts 50

§1.9 The Ginza Rba (The Great Treasure) 52

§1.9.1 The Right Ginza 52

§1.9.2 The Left Ginza 55

§1.10 The Ginza used in this Research (GRS) 56

§1.11 The Mandaean Script 61

§1.12 Book III of the Ginza Rba 63

§1.13 The Mandaean Story of Creation 64

§1.14 The Main Features of Mandaic Poetry 67

§2. Analysis of the Narrative 71

§2.1 The First Account of the Theogony 72

§2.1.1 *Pira* (the Fruit) ࡐࡉࡓ 73

§2.1.2 *Ayar* (Ether) ࡀࡉࡀ 77

§2.1.3 *Mana* (Intelligence, Vessel) ࡌࡍࡀ 80

§2.1.4 *Yardina* (Jordan) ࡉࡓࡃࡉࡀ 88

§2.1.5 *Škina* (celestial dwelling) ࡔࡊࡉ 93

Chart A 99

§2.2 The Second Account of the Theogony 100

§2.2.1 *Yura* ࡉࡅࡓ 102

§2.2.2 The Life ࡄ *Hiia* 104

§2.2.3 The Second Life (Yōšamin) *Hiia Tiniania* 107

§2.2.4 The Streams of Water *Hapiqia Mia*

ࡄ ࡄ 112

§2.2.5 The Third Life Abatur ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ 115

§2.2.5.1 Abatur Rama 115

§2.2.5.2 Abatur in the Incantations 119

§2.2.5.3 Abatur of the Scales 120

§2.2.5.4 Abatur *Rašn uRast* 123

§2.2.5.5 Abatur, the Symbol of Virility 126

§2.2.5.6 Abatur, the Heavenly Priest 127

§2.2.5.7 Abatur, the Divine Secretary 128

§2.2.6 The Fourth Life ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ Ptahil 129

§2.2.6.1 Ptahil: A Mandaean 'Uthra or Egyptian Demiurge? 129

§2.2.6.2 Ptahil: The Creator of the Material World 133

§2.2.6.3 The Creation of Adam 137

Chart B 141

§2.2.7 Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life) ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ 142

§2.2.7.1 The True Apostle of Light 142

§2.2.7.2 The Creation of Manda d-Hiia 144

§2.2.7.3 Manda d-Hiia: The Mandaean Redeemer 146

§2.2.7.4 Manda d-Hiia and John the Baptist 148

§2.2.7.5 Manda d-Hiia the Warrior 149

§2.2.7.5.1 Manda d-Hiia's Weapons 149

§2.2.7.5.2 Manda d-Hiia restrains the rebellious uhtras 149

§2.2.7.5.3 Manda d-Hiia's Encounter with the Powers of Darkness 152

§2.2.7.5.4 Manda d-Hiia's Battle with the King of Darkness ('Ur) 154

§2.2.7.5.5 Manda d-Hiia thwarts Rūha's plans to seduce Adam 156

§2.2.7.6 The Life Praises Manda d-Hiia for his Victory 158

§2.2.7.8 Manda d-Hiia, the Conjugal Advisor 159

§2.3 The Third Account of the Theogony 161

§2.3.1 The King of Light 163

§2.3.2 *Ziwa uNhūra* Radiance and Light 166

§2.3.3 *'Šata Haita* The Living Fire 169

§2.3.4 The 'Uhtras 170

§2.3.5 *Alma d-Nhūra* The World of Light 175

§2.3.6 *Alma d-Hšuka* The World of Darkness 178

§2.3.7 Malka d-Hšuka The King of Darkness ('Ur) 181

§2.3.8 The Army of the King of Darkness 185

§2.3.9 Rūha the Queen of Darkness 186

§2.3.9.1 Rūha: The Mother of the Seven

		Planets and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Planets	188
	§2.3.9.2	Rūha the Seductress	189
	§2.3.9.3	The End of Rūha	192
Chart C			193
§3	The Text		194
§4	Translation and Notes		261
Bibliography			565

Abbreviations

AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ARR	*Alma Rišaia Rba* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ARZ	*Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ATŠ	*The Thousand and Twelve Questions* (tr. E. S. Drower, Berlin 1960)
Jb	*Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (tr. M. Lidzbarski, Giessen 1915)
DY	The Mandaean Manuscript *Draša d-Yahia* "the Book of John"
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
CP	*The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1959)
DA	*Diwan Abatur* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1950)
DJPA	A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (M. Sokoloff, Bar Ilan University Press, 1990)
DM'L	*The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* (tr. J. J. Buckley, Connecticut 1993)
DMHZ	*Diwan Maṣbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
GRL	*Ginza Rba Left*
GRR	*Ginza Rba Right*
HG	*The Harran Gawaita* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
HR	History of Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JD	*A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmid Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrash Literature* (M. Jastrow, New York 1996)
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

JRCAS	Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
MD	*A Mandaic Dictionary* (E. S. Drower, R. Macuch, Oxford 1963)
MG	*Mandäische Grammataik* (Nöldke, Halle 1875)
MHZ	*Masbuta ḏ-Hibil Ziwa* [The Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa]
MII	*The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (E. D. Drower, Oxford 1937)
OT	Old Testament
Q	*The Mandaean Book Qalista*
QŠR	*Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "the Marriage ceremony of the Great Šišlam"
SA	The Secret Adam (tr. E. S. Drower, Oxfrod 1960).
ŠQŠR	*Šarh ḏ-Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Rome 1950)
ṬTŠR	*Ṭraṣa ḏ-Taga ḏ-Šišlam Rba* "The Coronation of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1962).

The Mandaic Alphabet

abāgāda

Form			With vowels					Transliteration Hebrew	Transliteration Latin	Pronunciation
								א	a	æ, a, ā
		bā		bi		bū		ב	b	b, β
		gā		gi		gū		ג	g	g, γ
		dā		di		dū		ד	d	d, δ
		hā		hi		hū		ה	h	h
		wā		wi		wū		ו	w	o, u, ū
		zā		zi		zū		ז	z	z
								ה	h	i
		ṭā		ṭi		ṭū		ט	ṭ	
		yā		yi		yū		י	i	e, i, i
		kā		ki		kū		כ	k	k, χ
		lā		li		lū		ל	l	l
		mā		mi		mū		מ	m	m
		nā		ni		nū		נ	n	n
		sā		si		sū		ס	s	s
								ע	‘	i (e, i)
		pā		pi		pū		פ	p	p, f
		ṣā		ṣi		ṣū		צ	ṣ	ṣ
		qā		qi		qū		ק	q	q
		rā		ri		rū		ר	r	r

𐎠		𐎡𐎠	šā		𐎢𐎠	šī		𐎣𐎠	šū		𐎠	ăš		ש	š	š
𐎡		𐎡𐎠	tā		𐎢𐎡	tī		𐎣𐎡	tū		𐎡	ăt		ת	t	t, θ
𐎤														ד	d̲	(a)d
𐎥														כד̲	kd̲	kd̲

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1.1 - The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin:

In the hot and marshy areas along the Tigris and Euphrates in the southern Mesopotamia and along the Karun River which flows through the lowland of Iran (Khuzistan) and, like the Tigris and Euphrates, empties into the Shaṭ-al-Arab and then into the Gulf, there dwells a small community of *Mandaiia*, Mandaeans ("Gnostics"). Their Arab neighbors call them *Ṣubba*, derived from ܨܒܥ (צבע) "to immerse or submerge", and refers to their frequent baptism "*maṣbuta*".[1] The Qur'an mentions the *al-Ṣab'iūn* الصابئون in three *sūra* along with the Jews and Christians.[2] The Moslem historians called them the Ṣabians [3] of the swamps (صابئة البطائح) or *al-Mughtasila* (المغتلسة) "those who wash" and they were numerous in the swamps and in the region of Dast-i Maysan.[4] Almas'ūdī tells of a Ṣābian sect called *Kīmāriyyūn* (الكيماريون) which

---

[1] SA p. ix. Mani points out that he was living amongst the "Sabaios" which is clearly derived form Aramaic *sobai* which means baptist (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 65).

[2] The Qur'an mentioned the Ṣabians in three suras: *baqarah* no. 62, *haj* no. 15 and *ma'ydah* no. 69

ان ٌ الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ وَالَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَالنَّصَارَى وَالصَّابِئِينَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحاً فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلاَ خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلاَ هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ {62} البقرة

But the Arabs wrongly translated "ṣb'" צבע as the Arabic صبأ 'to convert' instead of Aramaic "ṣb'" צבע 'to dye' or "submerge". Therefore, Arabic literature still wrongly calls them "those who converted."

[3] Islamic historians referred to all pagans as "Ṣābians," whether Babylonians, Greek, Egyptians or Romans.

[4] المغتسلة: هؤلاء قوم كثيرون بنواحي البطائح، وهم صابئة البطائح، يقولون بالاغتسال . ويغسلون جميع ما يأكلونه . ورئيسهم يعرف بالحسيح . وهو الذي شرع الملة . ويزعم ان الكونين ذكر وأنثى، وأن البقول من شرع الذكر . وأن الأكشوث من شرع الأنثى وأن الأشجار عروقه . ولهم أقاويل شنيعة تجري مجرى الخرافة . وكان تلميذه يقال له: شمعون . وكانوا يوافقون المانوية في الأصلين ويفترق ملتهم بعد، وفيهم من يعظم النجوم الى وقتنا هذا (أبن النديم . الفهرست 1994 ص 414)

was located between Wasiṭ and Basra. He also reported that the Ṣabeans were related to Ṣabi bn Mitšolaḥ bn Idris or Ṣabi bn Mari at the time of Abraham[5]. Al-Nadim mentioned many baptist sects who were living in southern Iraq such as: the "Dashtim", the "Muhājirūn", the "Kašṭīūn", the "Mughtasilah", the "al-Hasīh" (Elchasites) and "Ṣābat al-Baṭā'ih".[6] Macuch asserts that the Mandaeans actually settled in southern Mesopotamia and had many names. In Mesene (Maisan) especially they were called by their proper name "Mandaeans and Maškənaeans" and their script and dialect was called *maišānā'it* "Messenian" i. e. "Mandaic".[7]

The Mandaeans call themselves *bhirī zidqa* "the righteous elect" and '*Naṣoreans*' (*naṣuraiyī*),[8] i.e. "guardians" or "possessors" of secret rites and knowledge "Naṣiruta."[9] The Mandaean society, before the Moslem conquest of Iraq, consisted of two classes: (a) the priestly clan or the *Naṣoreans*; that is the inner circle of the priests and their novices, and (b) the laymen clan or the

---

"The Mughtasilah: These people are very numerous in the region of al-Baṭā'ih, they are [called] the *Ṣābat al- Baṭā'ih*. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as *al-Hasīh* [Elkesaites] and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants [*al-uksūth*] are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven [shameful is the right translation] sayings, taking the form of fables. His [*al-Hasīh*] disciple was named *Sham'ūn*. They agreed with the Manicheans about two elemental [principles], but later their sect became separate. Until this our day, some of them venerate the stars." (*The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, translated and edited by Dodge, London, 1970: 811) Lady Drower asserts that the "Elkasaites were once closely related to Naṣoraeans" (SA, p. 97).

[5] Almas'ūī, *al-tanbih wa al-'ishārf*, Brill, Leiden, (1894) pp. 161, 90-91.

[6] Al-Nadim, the *Fihirist*, Budge, 1970: 809 ff.

[7] Macuch R., "The Origin of the Mandaeans and their Script", JSS, 16, 1971 pp. 147-192, esp. p. 191.

[8] Sometimes the heavy 'ṣ' is written by none Mandaeans as 'z', Nazorenes. (SA p. ix) This term was used by the Jews to designate Christians (Peters, 1972: 668).

[9] Rudolph 1983: 343. Drower defines *Naṣiruta* as "esoteric religion within a religion, a gnosis within gnosis, and its heart is the interpretation which it attaches to sacramental acts" (SA p. xv).

Mandaeans who form the greater number of the sect.[10] Although they revered John the Baptist and occasionally mention him in some prayers, their relation to him is still problematic because they consider him "teacher" or "reformer" and never the founder of their faith.[11] In fact there is no mention of a founder of Mandaeism in all their writings.[12] After the Islamic invasion the priestly school which was teaching the esoteric principles of the "Naşiruta" diminished gradually and could no longer fight the new elements of transformation. Eventually, the majority of the Mandaean population had to convert to Islam due to persecution and a heavy poll tax.[13]

No one can determine the first appearance of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, and the question of their origin is still one of the continuing mysteries of Mandaeaen research. After nearly two centuries, this issue still raises much controversy amongst scholars. Some, like Nöldeke, Brandt and Lidzbarski, assert a pre-Christian existence to the Mandaeans, others like Pallis prefer a late dating, i. e. 6th century C.E.[14] In fact, Lidzbarski envisaged a Mandaic migration from the Transjordan towards Parthia in the first century

---

[10] Cf. the Manichaean community which was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') and the greater number of hearers or catechumens ("the continent") (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 23). Shaked stated, "Mandaean doctrine was restricted to people deemed to possess a higher type of piety just as in Manichaeism and Mazdakite movement" (Shaked, 1994: 75).

[11] Yamauchi, 1970: 80 ff.

[12] In this respect Drower comments, "For the Mandaeans there was no founder to reverence, no great prophet to single out as leader, no human saint upon whom to pinpoint devotion."(Drower, "Mandaen Polemic", BSOAS, Vol. 25, (1962), pp. 438-448, esp. p. 438).

[13] Brandt writes: "The disintegration of the community after the Islamic invasion led, by means of the compilation of the divergent tractates and traditions, to the present-day disorder in the Mandaean religion. The "little college" of priests was dispersed throughout Mesopotamia and could no longer overcome the disunion" (Brandt, 1889: 58 cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 212).

[14] Pallis believes that all Jewish names and ideas mentioned in the Mandaean writings are derived from Islam (Pallis, 1926: 118).

even before the destruction of the Jewish kingdom in 70 C.E.[15] Some Arab historians dates the Mandaeans (Ṣabeans) back to the very end of Babylonia, such as al-Birūni (11th century) who wrote, "the Ṣabiyūn are the remnant of the Jewish tribes who remained in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes adopted a system mixed up of Magianism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria."[16] Although the Mandaeans believe they are *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous ones", they admit all nations generated from the Jews: *mn ama ḏiahuṭaiia kulhun amamia ubabia minaihun npaq* "from the Jews all nations and sects came forth."[17] In addition, the Mandaean scroll "Haran Gawaita" states clearly that the Naṣoraeans had indeed migrated from "Jerusalem" to the *ṭaura ḏMiḏai* "the Median hills" under the protection of the Parthian king "Artabanus":[18]

> "Haran Gawaita (The Inner Haran) received him and that city in which there were Naṣoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus). And sixty thousand Naṣoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (*ṭura ḏMidai*), a place where they were free from domination by all other races. And they built

---

[15] Lidzbarski, Ginza p. x. See also Rudolph, 1969: 213. Neusner believes that the Mandaeans were subject to a kind of persecution in Hasmonean times, or during the war of 66-73 against Rome (Neusner J., JAOS, 1975: 184-190, esp. p. 188).

[16] Al-Bairuni, *al-Athar al-Baqiyah*, Leipzig, 1923: 206:

الصابئة هم الذين تخلفوا ببابل من جملة الأسباط الناهضة في أيام كورش وأيام أرتحشست الى بيت المقدس ومالوا الى شرائع المجوس فصبوا الى دين يختنصر فمذهبوا مذهبا ممتزجاً من المجوسية واليهودية كالسامرة بالشام.

[17] GRR, p. 30: 8. The text:

[18] Rudolph points out that this migration was towards the north-west Iran between Harran and Nisibis or Media during the period of the later Arsacids (1st or 2nd century C.E.) Rudolph, 1983: 364. Coxon points out that Ardashir I, who became king in the year CE 208, conquered Mesene (Characene) and established the Sasanian suzerainty after a decisive battle against Artabanus V in C.E. 224 (Coxon, JSS, 1970: 17).

cult-huts (*bimandia*) and abode in the Call came to their end.."[19]

The great difficulty in studying Mandaeism is one of chronology. Despite the fact that much has been written about their origin and much speculation, the Mandaeans are the only Gnostic group who call themselves explicitly "Mandaeans" which equals the Greek "*gnostikoi*". In fact they are the only Gnostic sect which is still in existence. Other Gnostic groups in Egypt, Syria and Palestine vanished, long ago. Many scholars believe that the Mandaeans (Naşoreans), among other "heterodox groups," who flourished in the East were not native movements but rather "migrated there in the hope of escaping the waves of repression that periodically swept the West."[20] It was in Mesopotamia, in contact with the traditions and faiths of Persia, that these Naşoreans adopted dualism and became Mandaeans "Gnostics".[21] Some Mandaean hymns and writings (other than *Haran Gawaita*) verify their exodus from the West and their arrival at Babylon in the East. The following hymn speaks of a kind of reunion between those Naşorean immigrants (from Jerusalem) and their kinfolks in Babylonia:

---

[19] Drower, Haran Gawaita, 1953: 3. Drower's translation, text collated:
ڠ ڪښڪ ښڪلښڪلڊ لڪڙڪه ڊڠڪڪ ڊ،،ڪښڪښڪڊ ڠڙڪڪ ڊ،ڪڊ ڪڪ ڪڪڪڪڪ ڊ،ڊڊڠ ښڪڪ
ښڪڪښڪڪ ښ ڪڪڪڪڪ ڪڪڪڪ ڊ،،ڪښڪښڪ ڊ،ڪه ښڪڪ ڪڪڊڊڪ ښڪڊڊ،ڪ ڊ،،ڪڪڪڊ،ڊ ڊ،ڪڪڪ
ښڪڪښڪڪ ښ ڪڪڪڪڪ ڊ،،ڪښڪښڪ ڊ،ڪه ښڪڪ ڪڪڊڊڪ ښڪڊڊ،ڪ ڊ،،ڪڪڪڊ،ڊ ڊ،ڪڪڪ
ښڪڪښڪڪ ښ ڪڪڪڪڪ ڊ،،ڪښڪښڪ ڊ،ڪه ښڪڪ ڪڪڊڊڪ ښڪڊڊ،ڪ ڊ،،ڪڪڪڊ،ڊ ڊ،ڪڪڪ
ښڪڪښڪڪ ښ ڪڪڪڪڪ ڊ،،ڪښڪښڪ ڊ،ڪه ښڪڪ ڪڪڊڊڪ ښڪڊڊ،ڪ ڊ،،ڪڪڪڊ،ڊ ڊ،ڪڪڪ

[20] Reeves, 1996: 46.

[21] Beyer states, "Mandaic was adopted by Naşoraeans, a Gnostic/Baptist community, after they had left Palestine (Jordan area) in the 1st century C.E. as a result of the hostility of contemporary Judaism and had migrated at the latest in the middle of 2nd century C.E. via northern Mesopotamia (Haran/Charrhae) to southern Babylonia (Mesene, Kuzistan)" (Cited by Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 51).

From the home of the great community therein, I became the healer for souls! I became a healer for souls who heals but takes no fee. I set forth, came and reached the gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon there were some who shut their doors on seeing me: There were some who shut their doors. And there were those who opened their doors. Those who shut their doors hated Life and loved death and will be held back in the Abode of Darkness. Those who opened their doors loved Life and hated Death, they hated Death and loved Life. They will rise up in purity and will behold the Place of Light.[22]

It seems that the Naşoraeans flourished in Babylonia under the Parthian kingdom and dwelt, like the other Baptist and Gnostic sects (e.g. Elchsaites and Manicheans) in central and southern Babylonia in towns such as Kutha, Borsippa, Nippur[23] and Purat-Maysan.[24] As soon as they settled down they got acquainted with the magic and astrology of the Chaldeans and the astrology of the Babylonians.[25] Hence, they became the soothsayers and "masters" of incantations in Mesopotamia, from whence originated "the most

---

[22] CP pp. 142-43 (hymn No. 164). Drower's translation, text attested:

[23] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, 2004: 53.

[24] Forat-Mišan is situated in the neighborhood of Basra, the ancient dwelling place of the Mandadaeans. Brandt points out that the Perate branch of the Ophite gnosis was founded by Εὐφράτης or Περατικός whom the "Perates" obtained their name (Brandt, 1889: 192). According to Lidzbarski, some Characenian coins were written in the Mandaic script. (Naveh, "The Origin of the Mandaic Script", BASOR, 1970: 33). Jewish communities also flourished under the tolerant rule of the Achaemenids and Arsacids (SA, p. 99).

[25] See *Sfar Malwašia* "The Mandaean Book of the Zodiac", translated by Drower, London (1949).

interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic."[26] The Sasanians brought their flourishing to an end when the Zoroastrian state under Shapur I (241-272) began the persecution of "foreign" religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Manichaeism and Gnosticism, and ordered the destruction of many Mandaean temples.[27] Kardir (late 3rd century C.E.),[28] tells us in his inscription at *naqsh-i-Rustam* how he initiated a religious persecution of great severity throughout the Persian Empire against the other religions such as Manicheans, Jews, *kristyānē* Christians, *nāṣorāyē* Naṣoreans etc.[29] This inscription can be taken as a solid evidence of the existence of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, along with other Baptist/Gnostic sects at that time in Sasanian Iraq. In this respect Quispel writes: "The Mandaean problem has become an open question again since Torgny Säve Söderbergh has shown that the Manichaean *Psalms of Thomas* were based upon extant Mandaean hymns, thus proving that the Mandaean sect in Iraq must had a very long prehistory."[30]

In the sixteenth century, the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran came to the attention of the Western world through the Jesuit missionaries, who

---

[26] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 11 & 12, 1999-2000: 296. Theodore bar Khoni says, "The *Dostai* are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Armaia Naṣōraeans (*Naṣrāiā*). (Cited by Eisler, 1931: 616, from: Pognon, *Inscr. Mandaites*, p. 224 sq. ; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 383; E. Peterson, *Z.N.T.W.*, xxvii. 1928: 65 n. 2, 95 n. 7).

[27] Rudolph, 1983: 364.

[28] Kartir is *Moabadan-Moabad* "the high priest" of the Magians who flourished under Shapur I, Hormizd I, Bahrām I, II, and III (Zaehner, 1955: 23-25).

[29] Zaehner, 1955: 24. Widengren, 1961: 16-17. Shaked, 1994: 11 and n. 15.

[30] He continues: "The curious expression "Lord of Greatness" in Mandaean writings has been found in the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon*. Moreover, I cannot explain the parallels between the names of Mandaean divinities and those found in certain Hellenistic magical papyri unless the Mandaeans have very old Western roots", "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 19, 1965: 79.

accompanied the Portuguese armada in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and came into contact with the Mandaeans in and about Basra and in Khuzistan.[31] The Jesuits thought that they discovered the "heretical Christians of St. John," but to the disappointment of the monks they could not convince the Mandaeans, except for a few, to join the Christian faith. But they succeeded in recruiting some of them as mercenaries and interpreters who sailed with the Portuguese fleet to the Strait of Hormuz, Masqat, Goa, Ceylon and even to Portugal itself.[32] When the Portuguese witnessed the persecution of the Mandaeans at the hands of the Moslems,[33] the Portuguese reached an agreement with the Pasha of Basra to move the Mandaeans to the Christian lands, but the Pasha went back on his word and did not allow the Mandaeans to leave and the exodus came to a halt.[34]

Conclusion:

According to the Mandaean manuscript "Haran Gawaita"[35] and other historical records, distinguished Semitic scholars, such as Lidsbarski, contented that Mandaism (literature and cult) is influenced strongly by the Old Testament and can only have originated in Jewish circles.[36] We might,

---

[31] Kraeling, 1929: 195.
[32] Lupieri, 2002: 83 ff.
[33] In 1637 all the Jews and Mandaeans of Persia were forced to convert to Islam (Lupieri, 2002: 104).
[34] Lupieri, 2002: 105.
[35] Lady Drower is certain that: "Haran Gawaita" is an important manuscript and might contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Mandaeans (See Drower "Haran Gawaita" (1953) p. viii).
[36] Lidzbarski, 1915: xvi where he writes: "*Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultus ist so stark durch das Alte Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst ausserhalb des Judentums findet*". See also his similar views in *Mandäische Liturgien* 1920: xix and in *Ginza*, 1925: vi. Later, Lady Drower adopted the theory of a western origin of the Mandaeans in heretical Jewish circles: "early Naṣiruta, or *Ur-Mandäismus* to use the convenient German

therefore, conclude that the Naṣoraeans were either a heterodox Jewish sect or the followers of John the Baptist, who did not convert to Christianity, and they fled to the east before the fall of Jerusalem in C.E. 70 because they were persecuted by the Jews.[37] Having first settled in northern Mesopotamia (Haran),[38] they moved to the Median hills of old Parthia and finally settled in Babylon and southern Mesopotamia, where they still live. This migration might explain the cultural influences of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and the old Babylonian religion on the Mandaean writings.

§ 1.2 - The Mandaean System:

The Mandaeans believe in two universes: (i) An intangible universe which is beyond our perception, and consists of two worlds: the World of Light and the World of Darkness. (ii) The world of *mšūni kušṭa*[39] and the tangible world of Tibil (earth). According to their belief, the *Mana Rba* "the Great Mana" (Intelligence), who dominates the World of Light, issued *Hiia Qadmiia* "the First Life" from the great *yardina* "Jordan" of Life. In turn, the First Life submitted a request to himself and created a son of his own whom he called *Hiia Taniania* "the Second Life" or "Yōšamin". The Second Life became

---

expression, was originally a sect which flourished in Judaea and Samaria then possibly in Parthian-Jewish settlements and in Transjordania, and that it was a hybrid strongly influenced by Magianism and Jewish Gnosticism" (Drower, "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) p. 448).

[37] The Mandaeans always define themselves as the followers of John the Baptist (*Yahia Yuhana*) in Jerusalem (SA, p. vi). According to Josephus, John the Baptist had "an astonishingly persuasive power over the Jewish populace" (Mead, 1924: 4).

[38] For the Mandaean polemic toward Christians, see Drower "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) pp. 438-48, esp. pp. 439-440, which might allude to their reason for moving from Haran.

[39] *mšūni kušṭa* : the world of ideal counterparts. "It is a world of ideas, in which is found in the double, the counterpart of everything in the material world" (See Drower, *The Secret Adam*, 1960: 39 ff.).

infatuated with the idea of creating a world of his own. He, therefore, transferred his defecting tendency to his son Abatur "the Third Life". Abatur opened the gate of the World of Light, and as soon he gazed into the abyss (or: darkness) Ptahil "the Fourth Life", came into being. Ptahil, who received a mandate from his father Abatur, descended to the black waters, consolidated *arqa* "the earth" and created the material world. On the other hand, the Lord of Darkness created a kingdom for himself with demonic beings of monsters, dragons, evil spirits and most of all the "Seven" (planets), and the "Twelve" (signs of the Zodiac) and their mother, the goddess of Darkness "Rūha". As a counter move, the World of Light created *Manda ḏ-Hiia* "Gnosis of Life" [40] in order to put an end to the defection of the *uthras* "beings of the World of Light" and to conquer the evil forces of the World of Darkness.

Ptahil, with the assistance of Rūha and her entourage, tried to create Adam but they could not succeed to make him stand on his feet. Therefore, Ptahil went back to the World of Light and brought from his father the *nišimta* "soul" and cast it into Adam's body. Only then Adam stood on his feet and became aware of his existence. The core of the Mandaean's soteriology is the deliverance of the *nišimta* "soul" from the perishable body. When death occurs the soul leaves the body and begins a long journey through the *maṭaratia* "watch-houses" or "purgatories" before reaching its final destination; *alma ḏnhura* "the World of Light".

[40] Manda ḏ-Hiia: Gnosis of Life and the Mandaean Redeemer (See below §2.3.2).

There are minor resemblances between the Mandaean story of creation and the Babylonian one such as the creation of the savior and his fight against the forces of evil. These resemblances led scholars, such as Brandt, to believe that Mandaeism is an off-shoot of the late Babylonian religion; he even assumed that Mandaeism was the centre from which the Ophite [41] and similar Gnostic system issued. [42] Lady Drower dedicated the introduction of her book "Secret Adam" to the Naşoraeans and their exodus from Palestine, which she dates to just after the destruction of the 2nd temple. She also discusses their possible relationship with Jewish-Palestinian groups.[43]

§ 1.3 - Mandaism and Gnosticism:

In addition to the resemblances between Mandaeism and the Babylonian religion, we find striking parallels between the Mandaic Gnostic motifs and the motifs of the other Gnostic sects such as the Hermetists and the Valentinians especially in the area of the redeemer and the ascent of the soul.[44] Gnosticism, the most problematic of cults, is first clearly attested in the second century C.E., but its exact origin is still of great controversy among scholars.[45] It gathered momentum in the following century and spread to

---

[41] A Gnostic sect flourished in north Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt during the first century (Wilson, 1958: 177ff).
[42] Pallis, 1926: 151.
[43] Drower, SA, p. xiv.
[44] Jonas writes, "The celestial journey of the returning soul is indeed one of the most constant common features in otherwise widely divergent systems, and its significance for the gnostic mind is enhanced by the fact that it represents a belief not only essential in gnostic theory and expectation, and expressive of the conception of man's relation to the world, but of immediate *practical* importance to the Gnostic believer, since the meaning of *gnosis* is to prepare for this final event, and all its ethical, ritual, and technical instruction is meant to secure its successful completion" (Jonas 1958: 165).
[45] Godwin, J., 1981: 84. Rudolph points out that "The beginning and end of Gnosis in late antiquity cannot be pin-pointed exactly. It makes appearance at the beginning of the Christian

Egypt and to the Fertile Crescent.[46] Some contemporary scholars, such as Quispel, believe that Gnosticism is neither the product of the Greek philosophy nor "a fossilized survival of old Iranian or even Indian religious concept."[47]

According to the Mandaean manuscript *Haran Gawaita* Mandaeism "Naşoraeanism" struck roots in Mesopotamia when a tendency to relegate the gods of the old religions and to adopt the Persian dualism at the dawn of the first millennium when the country was under the Parthian-Sasanian dominion.[48] Mandaeism and other baptist gnostic-type movements must have been around much at that time.[49] Some hypotheses say that the Naşoreans, who settled in East Jordan, became under the persecution of both the Jews and Christians, and for that reason they sought refuge in a friendlier atmosphere of Parthia and Media hills and from there they moved down to Babylon and southern Mesopotamia.[50] Naşoreaanism preserved the old Gnostic tenet that the world is created by foolish creator or demiurge, who himself came into being as a result of an error and that the soul is a "spark" from the World of Light has to be redeemed and sent back to its origin, along

---

era and disappears again at the latest in the 6th century, as far as the western manifestations are concerned" (Rudolph, 1983: 367).

[46] Jonas, 1958: 91. For more about different Gnostic sects in Mesopotamia see Morony, 1984: 408 ff.

[47] Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigliae Christianae*, 1965: 73. Quispel also noted: "It is rather a religion of its own, with its own phenomenological structure, characterized by the mythical expression of Self-experience through the revelation of the Word, or in other words, by an awareness of a tragic split within the Deity itself" (Ibid).

[48] Haran Gawaita tells that the Naşoreans (Mandaeans) migrated from Jerusalem under the Parthian king Artabanus III (?). (see Drower, *Haran Gawaita*, 1953: 3, n. 3).

[49] Shaked, 1994: 11.

[50] SA, p. xi.

with many indications of syncretistic Judaism. Many distinguished scholars [51] conclude that Naṣoraeanism (Mandaeism) is a heretical Jewish sect and its members are the "ultimate descendant of the Palestinian baptists of New Testament times and the period immediately preceding."[52] The divorce between this sect and official Judaism perhaps took place during the first and the second centuries C.E.[53] This defection of the Naṣoraeans from Judaism is documented in one of the rarest Mandaean passages which is connected with the consecration of a priest:

> And then he spoke and taught about the man who becomes a priest on earth and who leaves lay life for priesthood, like the soul which quits Judaism for Mandaeaism. For before it is baptized an infant dwells in an abode of Judaism, and a guardian-spirit of Light sits beside it (lit: sits on its neck) guarding it and awaiting its delivery from the snares of the Jews.[54]

---

[51] Such as: Rudolph 1983: 362, he also writes: "in the context of the Jewish wars of independence and the growing consolidation of Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), its position in opposition evidently led to persecutions of the community and ultimately to its emigration from the Jordan territory to the east." (Ibid pp. 363-4), Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 1925: vi, Lidzbarski, *Mandäisce Liturgien*, 1920: xix, Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, 1915: xvi, Drower, SA, p. x ff., Deutsch, ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 209-223, esp. 212. Reeves points out that: "Mandaism is a prominent Syro-Mesopotamian Gnostic movement possessing discernible links with late antique Judaism" (Reeves, 1996: 143).

[52] Wilson, 1958:66-7, Yamauchi, 1973: 121-2.

[53] Rudolph, 1978: 4.

[54] ATŠ II [358], p. 276. Drower's translation, text collated:

ⱑⱏⱄⰻ ⰻⰷⰻⱁ ⰰⱄⱏⱏⰰⱄⰻⰻⰰⰻ ⰰⱄⰰⱄⱑⰰⰻ ⱁⰻ ⱄⰻⱁⱑⰻ ⰻⰽⰽⰰⰽⰻ ⰻⰷⰰⱄⰰⱄⰻⰻⰰⰻ ⱁⰰⰽⰻ ⰽⰰⱄⰻⱁ ⱄⰰⰽⰻⱁ ⱁⰰⰻⱄⰰⱁ
ⰰⱄⱏⱄⰻⰻⰰ ⰰⱄⰻⱁⰻⰽⰰⰻ ⰽⰰⱄⰻⱁⰻⰰⰻ ⱄⰰⰽⰻⱄ ⱁⰻ ⰰⱄⰻⰻⰰ ⰻⰽⰽⰻⱁⰻⰰ ⰰⱄⰰⱄⱑⰰⰻ ⰰⱄⰰⱄⰻⰻⰰ ⱁⰻ ⱄⰻⱁⱑⰻ
ⰻⰻⰰⰽⰽⰰⱄⰻⰻⰰⰻ ⰻⰷⰰⰻⱄ ⱁⰻⰻ ⰽⰻⱁⰻⰻⰰⰻ ⰽⰻⱄⰻⱁ ⱄⰻⱁⰻ ⰽⰰⱄⰻⱁ ⰻⰰ ⰽⰰⱄⰻⱄⰻⰻ ⰽⰰⰽⰻⱁ ⱄⰻⱁⰻ

Drower states: "there is often a polemical interchange of (*t*) with (*d*) when scribes refer to Jews. Here either could be meant, as the two letters frequently replace one another. (In Ginza Rba Judaism is *yahduta*.) The polemical world-play on YHṬ and YHD is commented on by Lidzbarski (ATŠ, p. 255 n. 8).

The following text is another significant clue which may suggest that Mandaeism was a heterodox Jewish sect who chose to adopt Gnosticism "Mandaeism":

> He said to them: "The first *kušṭa* (oath) is a precious *kušṭa*; it is the promise made at baptism which takes the soul out of its *yahuṭuth* ('Judaism') into Mandaeism."[55]

The Mandaean tale of Miriai, the Jewish princess who left her religion and joined the Mandaeans, also shows a possible connection between the earliest Mandaeans and Jewish sectarians of the Second Temple period.[56] Other Mandaean writings from the Ginza such as the eleventh book of the Right Ginza "the Mystery book of Great Anoš (Enosh)" and book twelve, identifying the speaker as the "great Anoš", possess discernible links with the antique Judaism.[57]

The evolution of Mandaeism was summed up by H. -M. Shenke in three points: (1) originally the Mandaens were a heretical Jewish baptismal

---

[55] ATŠ II [198], p. 255. Drower's translation, text collated:
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܘܫܛܐ ܩܡܝܬܐ ܩܘܫܛܐ ܝܩܪܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܬܩܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܝܗܘܬܘܬ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܐ

[56] Zalcman, 1991: 421.

[57] Reeves, 1996: 143. Concerning the history of the Mandaean textual corpus he stated: "If a clear connection can be established between the *Codex* "apocalypse" passage and Mandaean Enosh material, an important step would be taken toward an improved understanding of the religio-historical relationship linking a number of Syrio-Mesopotamian religious communities" (Ibid, pp. 143-4). Reeves also adds: "The amazingly close correspondence in language between the *Codex* passage and the Mandaean texts is extraordinary, bolstering the growing suspicion that they derive from a common textual corpus" (Ibid, p. 147). On the other hand the Mandaeans accused the Jews of not observing the laws of impurity at all. (GRR, book XI. See also Lidzbarski, Ginza, pp. 224-5 where Kiwan "Saturn" is the god of the Jews).

sect, one among many. (2) The Mandaeans then accepted a Gnostic view. (3) This gnosis was finally institutionalized.[58]

We may outline the main parallel and different features of the Mandaean Gnostic system and the general Gnostic system according to the following table:

§ 1.3.1 - General Parallels and Differences between Gnosticism and Mandaeanism:

Gnosticism	Mandaeanism
1. The Gnostic system is based upon the dualistic opposition between the transcendental world of the "fullness" (*pleroma*) embracing the High God and the Aeons, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the "emptiness" (*kenoma*), the planetary and terrestrial world inhabited by man.	1. The Gnostic system of the Mandaeans is based upon the opposition between the transcendental (*nukraiia*) world of Light embracing *hiia rbia qadmaiia* "the First Great Life" (or: the King of Light) and the *uthras*, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of Darkness, the Seven planets (*šibiahia*) and terrestrial world (*tibil*) inhabited by man.
2. The *kenoma* came about because of some crisis in the *pleroma*, whereby the lowest of the Aeons on the emanation scale, a female figure	2. The physical world came about because of the crises caused by the Second Life "Yōšamin" and his sons the *uthras* when they decided to create a

[58] Quoted from Yamauchi, 1973: 122.

known variously as Wisdom (Sophia) or Thought (*Enonoia*) lapsed out of the *pleroma*, and in her confusion and dissatisfaction, she produced the angel archons, generally seven in number, who created and then ruled the world.	world of their own without consulting the higher deity, the First Life. Abatur (the Third Life) lapsed out of the world of Light, and in his confusion and dissatisfaction, produced Ptahil (the Fourth Life). Ptahil created the world with the help of Rūha and her sons the Seven planets who ruled the world.
3. The spark or spirit (*pneuma*) of the divine *pleroma* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place on high.	3. The soul *nišimta* or *mana* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place; the World of Light.
4. An Aeon (Jesus) is sent down to redeem the innermost part of every man's *pneuma* through suffering.	4. The messenger *Manda d-Hiia* (Gnosis of Life) or Enosh-Uthra is sent down to lead the *nišimta* (soul) to its final destination through *gnosis* "knowledge" and "awakening."
5. Gnosticism is optimistic towards the destiny of man and pessimistic towards the universe.[59]	5. Mandaeanism is optimistic towards the destiny of the *nišimta* (soul) of man and pessimistic towards the physical world "Tibil".

[59] Extracts from Peters, 1972: 648 ff.

§ 1.4 - The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans:

> "The great importance which the Mandaeans attribute to their cult practices shows their special character even more clearly. It is not "knowledge" alone that redeems but the cultic rites, primarily baptism and the "mass for the dead", are necessary for salvation."[60]

§ 1.4.1 - ܡܨܒܬܐ *Maṣbuta* (Baptism)

The central cultic rite of the Mandaeans is baptism or "immersion" ܡܨܒܬܐ (*maṣbuta*, pronounced *maṣwatta*). It is the immersion in the fluid of Life which gives the promise of eternal life to the *nišimta* "soul".[61] The rite of baptism had the esoteric significance of an initiation into the mystery of gnosis. To the Mandaean water is the medium which most fully expresses the mystery of being, or of the Being which is semi personified as the 'Great Life', and a river is the equivalent of the heavenly 'Jordan' flowing in the world of light:[62] Thus ܡܝܐ *mia* "water" originates in (Life) and conversely ܚܝܐ *hiia* "Life" originates in water. By performing baptism in the *yardina* "river" the Mandaean enters a into *laupa* "union" with the World of Light. Thus, the

---

[60] Rudolf, 1983: 360. He continues: "From this it may be deduced that here the gnostic ideology was amalgamated with that of an older cultic community, a heretical Jewish baptismal sect as is suggested by the water rites, and that thus an original Mandaean-Naşorean system came into existence, probably already in pre-Christian times."
[61] MII, p. 100.
[62] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 229.

Mandaean is protected from the powers of death, purified from pollution and defilement and also receives forgiveness for his transgression.[63]

In addition to the immersion in the running water, the full baptism includes the sacrament of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving *kušṭa*'[64] and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. Besides the full baptism there are two lesser water rites which are performed without priestly assistance:

1. *rišama*: prayers recited daily, with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels. At this stage no priest is needed.

2. *ṭamaša*: the second ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without ministration of a priest. It must be performed immediately after any kind of pollution (coition, nocturnal pollution, touching an unclean person) and after any serious defilement such as touching the body of a dead person. It must be also performed by a woman after menstruation and after child birth.[65]

Some scholars believe that certain roots of the Mandaean baptism is related to the Jewish rule such the prohibition of baptism and other rites on the Sabbath and on the *mbaṭṭal* (inauspicious) days.[66] But repeated baptism was a common feature among the different gnositc sects of Babylonia such as

---

[63] For the full details of the Mandaean baptism *maṣbuta* see Segelberg, *Maṣbūtā* , Uppsala (1958), MII p. 100 ff., Buckley, 2002: 80 ff.

[64] *kušṭa*: (a) "good faith", "rectitude", "truth", "sincerity", "right", "pact", "troth", "promise". (b) The act of placing the right hand in that of another person in token of and ratification of a pact, oath or promise. This act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. (c) A being, a personification of truth and good faith (ATŠ, p. 12).

[65] MII, p.101.

[66] Segelberg, 1958: 176.

the Elchasaites who were attacked by Mani for their *daily* baths.[67] The Mandaean baptism is unique of its kind and did not come into being as a reproduction of the Christian-Syrian, especially Neştorian rite. "In fact it is possible that certain characters go back to a pre-Christian period and have their origin in the lustral and baptismal practice of unorthodox Judaism, i.e. in the so-called baptismal sects (Maşboteans, Şebueans, cf. Şābeans)."[68] Other Gnostics such as the Ebionites and Hemerobaptists also performed repeated baptism.[69]

The pliability of the research in the field of Mandaeism is always ambushed by the ambiguity of some terms and characters.[70] In baptism we are faced with an indefinite personality of *bihram rba* "Bihram the Great" as we read in the following baptismal formula:

> "I have baptized myself with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the Mighty Ones. My baptism shall protect me and attain the end (or: be successful). The name of Life and the name of Manda d̲-Hiia be pronounced on me."[71]

---

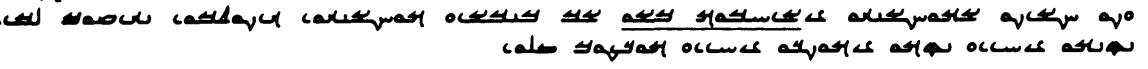
[67] For Mani's confrontation with the baptists see Henrichs, 1973: 43. In respect of the ritual immersion in Babylonia, Drower writes: "Ritual immersion was ancient indeed in Babylonia, and during Iranian domination shrines had been built on the Tigris and Euphrates to the water-goddess Anahita, who under her Semitic name Nanai or Nanaia is still invoked in Mandaean exorcism books" (SA, pp. 104-5).

[68] Foerster, 1974: 132.

[69] Henrichs, 1973: 50.

[70] In the Mandaean marriage we come across *Šišlam Rba* who is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.

[71] CP, p. 21. The texts:



Bihram, as it seems, is the core of the ritual, but he does not play any significant role in the Mandaean mythology. It is obvious that Bihram is a Persian name associated with some Persian kings,[72] and with the Persian god Bahram or Vahram.[73] We have no evidence, whatsoever, to prove that the Bihram mentioned at the Mandaean baptism is a human being who established the sect, as implied by some. Others, like Segelberg, hypothesized that when the Mandaens settled in the East during the Sassanian period they replaced the name of *Yohana* "John the Baptist" with Bihram in order to legitimize the new religion to the rulers of the country.[74]

In addition to the main baptism, which is performed in every religious event including marriage, the Mandaeans perform a minor ablution (baptism) to the dying person. After the priest performs *rišama* "the minor ablution", the mortally ill person is dressed in his *rasta* (ritual dress), and a small myrtle wreath is inserted in the little finger of his right hand and he is watched carefully day and night so that he not die unclean. At the end of the *rišama* the priest recites some prayers, while some members of the dying person's family bring water from the river. When death approaches, the dying person is undressed and doused three times from head to foot. They lift him and place

---

[72] Bihram I, Bihram, Birhram III and Bahram IV (Zaehner, 1955: 38 ff).

[73] About this ambiguous figure, which is closely associated with the Mandaean baptism, Drower writes: "His name is Iranian (Avestan Vəδəθαγnα) and the Mandaean Bihram may be the Persian genius of victory (New Persian *Bahrām* < Middle Persian *Varhrān*) . . The presence of the banner at Mandaean baptism may be connected with Bihram's banner of victory" (SA p. 65). Vahram or Baharam (Verethraghna), the *yazata* "is the Persian god of the planets and victory who was created by Ahura and became the great champion against demons" (Boyce, 1975: 54, see also Zaehner, 1955: 220). Lupieri suggests that the Mandaeans who lived in Characene since the second century must have chosen Bihram (the deity of Maisan) as eponymous deity of their baptism (Lupieri, 2002: 163 f.).

[74] Segelberg, 1955: 57 ff. At any account this subject needs further research.

him on clean bedding facing the North Star.[75] Then they cloth him in a new *rasta* and wait for his *nišimta* (soul) to depart his body. [76] In the past other Gnostic sects such as the Valentinians and the Marconsians used to perform this kind of baptism for their dying people.[77]

§ 1.4.2 - ڡڰڰڝڡڝ The Masiqta (Ascent of the Soul)

The Masiqta is the second major ceremony of the Mandaeans and it, too, includes immersion in "Jordan" (river, running water), anointing with oil and crowning with the myrtle wreath. It is the Naşoraean mass dedicated to those who die "unclean" without the proper ceremony of the dead. The Mandaean has to die clean wearing his white ceremonial outfit in order to join his heavenly *dmuta* "image, counterpart": "I go to meet my image and my image comes to me: it caresses and embraces me as if I were returning from captivity."[78] The Mandaeans believe that a man who dies in a violent death suffers long and painful delay in the *maṭaratia* (watch-houses) before moving into the next world. Therefore, a *masiqta* "ascension" ceremony has to be performed three days after the death of the believer in order to assist *nišimta* "the soul", by furnishing it with a new body, with which it could enter the

---

[75] Perhaps this is due to the old Mesopotamian influences, since the north is connected to high lands "mountains".
[76] MII p. 178 ff.
[77] Widengren, 1946: 108.
[78] GRL, p. 136: 1. The text:
ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ ڡڰڰڝڡڝ
Cf. the "figure of light that comes to meet the dying" in the Coptic-Manichaean genealogy of gods (Jonas, 1958: 122).

World of Light.[79] For the Mandaeans the fate of the *nišimta* is the main concern, because *pagra* "the body" cannot rise to the world of Light and eventually integrates back into the earth.[80]

The *masiqta* is a long ceremony, which requires the presence of, at least, three priests: a *ganzibra*[81] "head-priest", a *tarmida* "priest" and a *šganda* "assistant". The preparations for this ceremony start on Saturdays only and the main ritual takes place on Sunday.[82] The main ingredients of *masiqta* "ascension" are the recitation of certain prayers from the Left Ginza, and a sacramental meal. The meal includes unleaved bread, [83] different kind of fruit and nuts, fish, and a tiny piece of sacrificed white dove-flesh (*ba*).[84] There must be fresh myrtle and a large bowl of water just filled from the *yardina* "river".[85] The recitations are continued at fixed intervals until the end of the forty-five days' journey of the soul.[86] There are at least nine major variants of the Mandaean *masiqta*:

1. The *Bukra*: the first *masiqta* performed by a priest after ordination. 2. The *masiqta* of newly-consecrated *ganzabra*. 3. The *Dabahata* or *Ṭabahata*:

---

[79] On the third day a *masiqta* is performed for the dead and the seal of the grave is removed.
[80] Drower, 1956: 234.
[81] *Ganzibra* (Paž. Ganzubar, Pahl. gangāβar, Mod. P. گنجور , Aram. loan-word גזברא ,ܓܙܒܪܐ) treasurer: the ecclesiastical rank above that of the *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) Akk. *ganzabāru* "treasurer" (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, 2000: 90, see also Macuch, 196 5: 139).
[82] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, 2004: 18.
[83] The Manicheans share two rites with the Mandaeans: the purification of their food and the ritual preparation of unleaved bread (*faiṭira*) (See Henrichs, 1973: 45).
[84] A ritual word for the dove sacrificed at the *masiqta*, and the sacred dove's meat consumed by the priests at the same (MD, p. 44).
[85] Drower comments: "the symbolism of water, fruit, bread and fresh myrtle, are linked with the idea of fertility and life triumphant over death." (Drower, "The Mandaean New Year Festival", *Man*, Vo. 36 (Nov., 1936), pp. 185-188, esp. p. 188).
[86] Rudolph, 1983: 362.

celebrated in the names of a male and female, and linked with the celebration of a *Dukrana lhdaia rba zadiqa*. 4. The *masiqta* of *Shitil*: celebrated for one who dies not wearing a myrtle-wreath or otherwise improperly clad for death. 5. The *masiqta* of *Zihrun Razia Kasia*: celebrated for one who had died during of the minor *mbaṭṭal* days (inauspicious days on which all ritual is forbidden), etc. 6. The *masiqta* of Adam: for one who has died on one of the major *mbaṭṭal* days, such as New Year's Day. 7. The *masiqta* of *Samandri'il*: for a person who has died of burns, or has fallen from a tree or been drowned. 8. The *masiqta* of *kanat*: for a woman who dies during pregnancy. 9. *masiqta* of *hai-šūm*: for a person who died as a result of a snake bite. There are other *masiqta* for a bride-groom who died during wedding ceremonies and for moving the remains of a dead person.[87]

While the *masiqta* is intended essentially for the dead, it is also applied to living. A *masiqta* is performed in the ceremony of initiating a new priest. The *ašualia* "novice for priesthood" dedicates a *masiqta* to his *rabi* "teacher" and pronounces his name at a certain point in the ritual where the name of officiating priest has to be indicated.

§ 1.5 - The Mandaean Calendar

The Mandaeans have a lunar year, which is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named *Parwanaiia*,[88] which fall

[87] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, Nijmegen (2004) pp. 13-14.
[88] The word Parwanaiia (parwānāyē) connected with the Parthian adverb *parwan*, "before or after" (Mary Boyce, "A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian", *Acta Iranica* 9a. (Leiden, 1977), p. 72. n. 7, see also Burtea, "Šarh d-Paranaiia", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 66).

between *Sumbulta* "Virgo", the 8th month, and Qaina "Libra" (Tišrin), the 9th month. The beginning of the "Panja" festival changes depending upon the movements of lunar months in the year.[89] The Mandaean calendar is a 365-day calendar consisting of twelve 30-day months, with 5 epagomenals inserted at the end of the 8th month. This compensation takes place during the *Parwanaiia* (or: *Panaja* = five days) which is celebrated by the Mandaeans during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin).[90]

During the five days preceding, no religious ceremony except a funeral may be performed, and no undertaking of importance should be begun, for these are considered to be "days of darkness".[91] They are followed by the five intercalary days mentioned above, called "days of light". Mandaeans are forbidden to pray after sunset at other times of the year, but during the nights of *Parwanaiia* darkness is considered non-existent, and praise and prayer flow continually. Barriers between this world and the world of Light are down.

The Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. The beings of light are:

---

[89] The term Panja means the five *Gatha* days, also called *Khamsat al-mustariqa*t, was used in the Persian as well as in the Sistanian calendars during the 5th century (See Taqizadeh, "The Old Iranian Calendar again", BSOAS, Vol. 14, No. 3, (1952), pp. 603-611, esp. p. 608).

[90] The old Iranian calendar (of 12 months of 30 days and 5 supplementary days) are still in use in many districts of Kashan, Natanz, Maima, Javshagan, and the in the province of Yazd. (Ibid, 610).

[91] The Mandaeans think the five days preceding intercalary days particularly ominous, because they are dedicated to the evil spirits of death and darkness.

Marad-Rabuta, Manda d̲-Hiia, Šišlam-Rba, Adam-Shaq and Hibil-Ziwa.[92] Although this calendar could have been borrowed from the Zoroastrians at any time in the early Middle Ages, further characteristics of the Mandaean calendar suggest earlier origins that would pre-date the Middle Ages, the Sassanians, and even Mandaeism itself. The twelve months of the Mandaean year grouped and named according to four seasons (e.g. the first month of the year is called *awal sitwa*, "first of the winter") but also bear Babylonian (Aramaic) names of months. The month Nisan designates the 3rd month of the year, exactly as in the Sogdian calendar, but incongruously since Nisanu is the 1st month of the Babylonian year.

The twelve months of the Mandaean year are divided into four seasonal divisions: *Sitwa* (winter), *Abhar* (spring), *Giṭa* (summer), and *Paiz* (autumn). The months are also named according to the signs of the Zodiac: *Daula* "Aquarius" (Šabat), *Nuna* "Pisces" (Adar), *Ambra* "Aries" (Nisan), *Taura* "Taurus" (Ayar), *Ṣilmia* "Gemini" (Siwan), *Ṣirṭana* "Cancer" (Tammuz), *Arya* "Leo" (Ab) *Šumbulta* "Virgo" (Ellul), *Qaina* "Libra" (Tišrin), *Arqba* "Scorpio" (Mašrwan), *Haṭia* "Sagittarius" (Kanun), *Gadia* "Capricon" (Ṭabit). Each year is named after the day which it began, e.g. the Year of Habšaba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. The Mandaean New Year is called Dihba Rba.[93] The Mandaeans count the 24 hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: "the night of Tuesday" to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.

---

[92] ATŠ, pp. 116-7. Hibil-Ziwa: a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Manda d̲-Hiia.
[93] See MII, pp. 84-5.

The Mandaean calendar has the additional incongruity of beginning the year with the winter season, whereas the Persian-Zoroastrian New Year is normally associated with the spring. The Persian-Zoroastrian New Year coincided with early winter in the 1st century B.C.E., so the essential names of Mandaean months may have been instituted in this period.[94] The Mandaeans are the only non-Iranian people who adopted the old Iranian calendar, along with quite a number of other beliefs, of the later Sasanian period i.e., the time of Khosrau the Great (sixth century) without the slightest change.[95] But the Mandaeans did not use the Persian names of the months and kept the Semitic ones, as mentioned above.

The main purpose of the Mandaean calendar is to determine the ominous and auspicious times. The Mandaeans believe in two kinds of ominous (*mbaṭṭal*) days: (1) Minor *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": on these days the Mandaeans are not allowed to slaughter animals, but are allowed to eat meat of slaughtered animals on the day before. (2) Major *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": Slaughter of animals or eating meat is not allowed during these days; only vegetarian food.[96]

---

[94] This information is courtesy of Dr. S. Stern (oral communication).
[95] Taqizadeh, BSOS, Vol. 9, 1938: 605-7. The Mandaeans still call the New Year's Day (*dahba rba*) by the Persian name *Naurūz Rba*. He also writes: "There is, however, one small people (he means the Mandaeans) with whom not only the old Iranian system of time reckoning survives, but whose national calendar is now, strictly speaking, the only true continuance of that once very widely used Mazdayasnian or Young-Avestan calendar" (Ibid, p. 605).
[96] *'niani* ʿanian book of the Mandaeans p. 163.

§1.6 - Mandaean Feasts

§1.6.1 - ࡐࡀ̈ࡓ ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ Parwanaiia (Panja)

As mentioned above, the most important of the Mandaean's feasts is the *Parwanaiia*[97] (or: Panja) which is celebrated during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin). Five days before the Panja, or the last five days of *Šumbulta*, are considered major *mbaṭṭl* (ominous days), for they are dedicated to the five lords of Darkness, but the period Panja is the happiest time of the whole year. As noted above, the Mandaean year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a month with five intercalary days. These five days are called *Parwanaiia* and the Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. Those ࡍ̈ࡅ̈ࡐ *nfaqa* "out of the body" (dead), are with their loved ones and share in communion (*laufa*) with them ritual meals eaten in their names. The five days of the Parwanaiia are called *hamša iuma ḏparuaniia ḏhinun dukrana* "the five days commemoration".[98] The perfected souls of ancestors and spirits of life and light have special powers at this time to help the living. Should a person have the food fortune to die during the sacred five days, he or she will pass quickly through the purgatories (or: watch-houses) to the world of light. On the last day of the feast, special ceremonies are performed by the

---

97 ࡐ̈ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ *pārwānāyē* is connected with modern Persian adverb فرستادن *parstadan* and the Parthian پرزان *parwan* "forward, before" (Burtea, "Šarh ḏ-Paruaniia", ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 86).

98 ࡀ̈ࡓ ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ ࡀ̈ࡓ ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ ࡀ̈ࡓ ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ ࡀ̈ࡓ ࡅ̈ࡓ ࡐ

priests for those who, during the past year, died in a state of impurity, or not wearing ritual garment. Sheep are slaughtered for lay feasting and charity, and a small piece of sheep's fat is placed on *zidqa brika* (Holy Oblation) tables. Every man, woman and child should be baptized and all share in sacraments which commemorate the dead.[99]

§1.6. 2 - ࡃࡁ ࡃࡁ Dihba Rba

Dihba Rba is the Mandaeans' New Year festival, celebrated at the beginning of *Daula* (Šabat), the first month of the Mandaean year. They also use the Persian name *Nauruz Rba* for this festival. New Year's Eve is called *Kanši uZahli* "cleaning and lustration". On this day sheep and chicken are slaughtered, bread is baked and kept in the house, jars and pots are filled with water enough for thirty-six hours. All day, till sunset (*paina d-Dahba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Thirty-six hours before the second day of *Daula* (Šabat), i.e. the night before the New Year and the first of the New Year, is called the Day-of-Lacking, during which period priests and laymen retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, and no religious ceremony can take place. The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: For the Mandaeans, the New Year honors Mana Rba Kabira and how he completed his work of Creation. On this day, the spirits of light gather together to embark on a twelve hour journey to visit the Great Mana and show their appreciation towards him. Abatur closes

[99] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 37-8.

his door, Nidbai and Šilmai forsake their posts as the guardians of running waters; Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš depart; the dwellers in *Mšunia Kušṭa* (the parallel pure world) with Adam Kasia (Secret Adam) at their head and their guardian spirit Šišlam Rba (the *dmuta* of Hibil-Ziwa) all rise into the infinite worlds of light. They travel by the "vehicles of Light" and this celestial journey takes them twelve hours. They reach the realm of Light at the dawn of the New Year and spend the next twelve hours praying and praising the Great Ones. Their journey back covers the next night.

While the guardians are gone, the world is left defenseless and all sources of nature, including trees and rives, become exposed to the forces of evil and death. Therefore, the Mandaeans take extra measures to protect themselves from pollution by staying at home praying and meditating for thirty-six hours. On the third day of the feast (the second day of the new year) the invisible guardians having returned, the vigil is over and there is a general jubilation. The Mandaeans gather in the *mandi* "temple" to greet the *ganzibra* "high-priest", and listen to his portents for the year. Then they go to visit Mandaean families that have recently lost a loved one to console them and assure them that they are not alone in times of difficultly. Once this is done, they feast and make merry.[100]

[100] For more details on this feast see Drower, 1956: 34 ff.

§1.6.3 - (ڤڕڤڕڤ ڤڤڤڤ) ڤڤڤ ڤڤڤڤڤڤ ڤڤڤڤ The Dihba d- Šišlam Rba or the Dihba d-Šušian

The Mandaeans also call this feast *Nauruz Zūṭa* (Little New Year) which takes place on the 6th day and the 7th of the first month. The night between these two days is called "the night of power"[101] and then, if a man is pious, the gate of Abatur is opened for him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. However, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, and the result is not immediately seen. The priests visit the Mandaean families and hang on the door of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the Mandaeans from evil. In return, the Mandaeans donate a small fee to the priests.

§1.6.4 - ڤڤڤڤ ڤڕڤڕ The Dihba Hnina or Dihba Ṭurma (the little feast)

This feast takes place on the 18th of Taura (Ayar) and lasts for three days. Baptism should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals. Dihba Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil-Ziwa form the underworlds to the worlds of light. It is a cheerful feast and commemorates creation. Hibil-Ziwa's marriage to Zahariel (the female spirit of the underworld) results in the birth of Ptahil (the demiurge who created the

[101] The Moslems celebrate a similar occasion on the night of the 27th of the fasting month "*Ramadan*" which they call *lailat elqadr* "the Night of Power". They believe the gate of heavens open in this night and some of the believers' wishes come true.

cosmos). On the first day of this feast they visit each other and have a special breakfast together which consists of rice, yogurt and dates.

§ 1.7 - ࡋ࡙ࡅ ࡋ࡙ࡉ ࡋ࡙ࡋ *luṭata uqiriata* Curses and Incantations

A large number of Mandaic magic bowls, lead and gold amulets were found in Mesopotamia during the 19th and 20th century, and have reached the Western world through archeologists and antique dealers. We cannot determine a dating for this magic material but most scholars believe that they belong to period between the 2nd and the 6th century C.E. The writings on the terracotta magic bowls survived because they were written with a special kind of "permanent" ink. The ink *diuta* ࡃ࡙ࡅ is made, according to a secret recipe, by the scribes themselves, who are often the priests.[102] To the Mandaeans writing is a sacred art and the letters of the alphabet represent the powers of life and of light. Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphabet as magical and sacred. Writing is under the special protection of the planet Nabû[103]. Letters of the alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of silver or gold, are placed

[102] The following recipe was given to Drower by a Mandaean priest during her stay in Iraq: "Mix glue with river water, let it melt, and then evaporated for six days. On the seventh, pound it with powder charcoal in the portion of one *mithqal* (nearly 4.8 gm)of charcoal to 25 glue, for four or five days. Mix with water to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it will form crystals. These, mixed with river-water (*yardina*) to from ink. The *Asut Malka* (a prayer recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites) should be read over it" (MII p. 23).

[103] Nbû or 'Nbû in Mandaean (Babylonian *Nabû* 'Mercury'). The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, consider him as the patron of writing and the god of wisdom (MD, p. 287, see also Dally, 1989: 325).

under the pillow of a person who desires heavenly guidance in some matter of difficulty.[104]

The bowls contain valuable information of mythical tales of Late Antiquity including early forms of liturgy, mystical literature and Mandaean textual material.[105] They also reflect the Mandaean belief and creed.[106] The purpose of these magic bowls and rolls is to throw a protective spell against enemies, capture demons, and repulse curses and avert evil eye, over the clients for whom they were written. Incantations were of various kinds and shapes; some were for health and others as love talismans.[107] The Mandaeans possessed a large collection of charms and magical prescriptions, and when written down they formed a real "Book of Magic". The most famous "magic" book is *Asfar Malwāšā* (Book of the Zodiac) which deals with a system of astrology based on the Signs of the Zodiac based on astrological literature of the Babylonians.[108]

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the person. It is usually called a ڤاكمسه *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the word ڙاكماه *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long strip of paper from 2 – 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small gold or silver case so tat it may be suspended round the neck from a string or chain. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has

[104] MII, p. 240.
[105] Levene D., 2002: 7.
[106] Segal, 2000: 25.
[107] E. S. Drower, *A Mandaean Book of Black Magic*, JRAS (1941) p. 15.
[108] Budge, 1930: 241.

been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade.[109]

The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, lived lives of fear because they believed in the existence of myriads of fiends and devils which caused sickness and death to themselves and damage to their material property.[110] The phantoms of ghosts of dead men were greatly feared in Babylonia, even more so than among the Mandaeans. It was necessary for the living to offer food, perform rituals, and recite incantations in order to propitiate potentially vengeful ghosts, who were as often as not their relatives.[111] The people clung to the use of amulets and the art of incantations thrived in Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans became the masters of this art, and the originators of the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic.[112]

The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid. The Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), mentioned in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. *Pašra d-Šambra* (a love charm) addressed to Libat (Dilbat, Ištar) which begins frankly, "In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men". Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in same

---

[109] MII, p. 26.
[110] Budge, 1930: 241.
[111] Yamauchi, 1967:27. "The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature" (Montgomery, 1913: 116).
[112] Müller-Kessler Ch., "Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations", *Aram* Vol. 11 & 12 (1999-2000) p.296. Montgomery writes "The Mandaic dialect is fully formed and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the rabbinic and Syriac" (Montgomery, 1913: 104).

phylactery.[113] The planets are considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotion are harmful to the soul, and fault committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the ࡌࡀ̈ࡕࡀ̈ࡓࡀ̈ *maṭarata* (s. *maṭarta* ࡌࡀ̈ࡕࡀ̈ࡓࡀ̈), realms equivalent to purgatories. The Mandaean view is that after death the soul has to pass through a number of posts of stations, *maṭarata*, before it reaches the scales of judgement. M*aṭarata* serve as places of purification for the soul proceeding towards the Realm of Light, and each is in charge of a keeper or keepers.[114]

Many of the divine figures and demons are mentioned in the *Ginza* are invoked in the Mandaean incantations and amulets, such as: ࡀ̈ࡉ̈ 'the Life', ࡀ̈ࡉ̈ࡃ ࡄ̈ࡍ̈ࡀ̈ *manda d-hiia* 'the gnosis of Life', ࡉ̈ࡀ̈ࡁ̈ "Hibil", ࡉ̈ࡀ̈ࡅ "Yawar", ࡀ̈ࡎ̈ࡀ̈ࡁ̈ "the (Seven) Planets", ࡅ̈ࡀ̈ࡔ̈ "Yōšamin", ࡉ̈ࡎ̈ࡀ̈ "Ptahil", ࡉ̈ࡀ̈ࡊ̈ Gabriel, ࡔ̈ࡀ̈ Šamiš, ࡍ̈ࡀ̈ "Kiwan" ࡉ̈ "Bel" ࡏ̈ࡀ̈ "Nabu" or "Nbu" ࡊ̈ "Nirig" or "Nergal" ࡋ̈ "Lilith", ࡀ̈ࡃ "Dewis" ࡀ̈ࡊ̈ "Idol-spirits" ࡎ̈ "Rūha" ࡎ̈ࡕ̈ "Stira" (Ištar) "Venus-Libat" ࡄ̈ࡓ̈ "Adonai" etc. These names and more are also found in the other chapters of the Ginza and in the other Mandaean texts.

In 1905 Mark Lidzbarski published a lead amulet which he dated about 400 C.E. It is considered the earliest of all Mandaic writings. The writing was inscribed with a nail, and the letters are very small.[115] The scroll would be rolled up and worn in a container. Lady Drower believes that the lead strip was

---

[113] MII, p. 26.
[114] McCullough, 1967: 17.
[115] Yamauchi, 1967: 6.

immersed in water and the water swallowed by the person to be cured or exorcised.[116] The following lines from Lidzbarski's lead amulet invoke most of the divine and demonic names mentioned above (notice the guttural ʿ: ʿ is not dropped in the name of Manda ḏ-Hiia):

> I call and Mand'a ḏ-Hiia I ask for mercy. I say to him, "Do you, O Mand'a ḏ-Hiia, shatter this misfortune and drive away this affliction from the threshold of Nukraya and the evil destroyers from our village. And the Planets how evil they are – who arise in a rage intending evil. . . . (lines 15 – 21) The pure Yōšamin and Abatur have strengthened it. Ptahil, who built the House, has strengthened it. Šamiš (the sun) in his brilliance as strengthened it. Bel (Jupiter). Nergal (Mars), and Kewan (Saturn) have strengthened it. The Moon in its brightness has strengthened it. Dilbat (Venus), and Daniš have strengthened it. Nebo (Mercury), his priest and worshipper, have strengthened it. The seven Planets have strengthened it. Their twelve angels have strengthened it. Their five leaders have strengthened it. . . ." (lines 244 – 257) [117]

The first Mandaic bowl inscription was published by Pognon, the French consul at Baghdad in 1892. The bowl came from Bismaya (Adab) south of Nippur.[118] The exterior is inscribed with: ... ... "Bound . . . of the crescent-spirit . . ." and the interior begins with: ... "In the

---

[116] Drower E. S., "A Mandaean Bibliography", JRAS, 1953: 38.

[117] Yamauchi, 1967: pp. 234-255, text 22.

[118] Yamauchi, 1967: 4.

name . . ." the text ends with the typical Mandaean doxology: ڀڀاوڀ ڀڀڀ "And Life is Victorious". Almost every incantation and amulet begins with the opening phrases: ڀڀڀڀ ڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀ "In the name of the Great Life", ڀڀڀڀ ڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀ "May there be health, armament and sealing", ڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀ "Averted and driven away are the curses"; ڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀڀ "Repulsed are all the curses and incantations"

Analyzing the Mandaean texts, one can find that the demonized Mesopotamian deities, which are also mentioned in the later Mandaic text corpus, prove without doubt that they were borrowed from a Late Parthian cultural setting of Central Babylonia.[119] Therefore, Mandaean incantations are essential to the study of the origin of this people. Rudolph believes that the "Mandaic incantation corpus belongs to a sunken higher religion. . . . The Mesopotamian and Iranian elements of the Mandaean texts and their placement are of major importance when it comes to the question of the Mandaeans' homeland."[120]

§ 1.8 - The Mandaean Manuscripts.

It is assumed that the first Mandaean manuscript (*Diwan*) was brought to Europe in 1652 by Carlo Leonelli who was known as Friar Ignatius of Jesus while he was on a mission to Basra. In 1674 François de la Croix brought to Paris the most important Mandaean manuscript, the Ginza. The French

---

[119] Müller-Kessler Ch., "The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 55.
[120] Ibid, p. 52. For the Mandaean existence in Nippur along with the Jews before the Islam conquest of Mesopotamia see Montgomery, 1913: 103.

ambassador at Constantinople sent other manuscripts in 1678. More Mandaean manuscripts reached Europe successively.[121]

Many scholars studied and published Mandaean literature such as M. Thávenot (1663) and M. Norberg (1781), who exerted a considerable effort in laying the foundation of Mandaean textual study. Peterman (1867) made a translation of the Ginza based on four Paris manuscripts and published it under the name *Sidra Rabba*. Depending on this translation, W. Brandt (1893) published a German translation of selected passages.[122] In 1915 M. Lidzbarski published the translation of *draša d-yahia* (The Book of John), the *Qolasta* (liturgical collection) and the Ginza respectively.

Lidzbarski's distinguished work was continued by E. S. Drower who opened new horizons in the field of Mandaean research. She succeeded where the others failed and her achievements in this field were remarkable. Her dedication to Mandaism and her long stay in Iraq made her welcome among the Mandaean community. She traveled to Iraq many times and on several occasions visited their *bit-manda* (temple), in Liṭlaṭa – Qal'at Şaleh, Maisan province (southern Mesopotamia), and became acquainted with their traditions and customs. She won the confidence of the Mandaeans and obtained from them a complete collection of 56 Mandaean manuscripts. This collection is known as "Drower Collection" and deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[123] Lady Drower translated and published most of the

[121] Pallis, 1933 p. 32. For more about Ignatius of Jesus see Lupieri, "Friar Ignatius of Jesus", ARAM Vol. 16, 2004: 25-46.
[122] Pallis S. A., 1933: 38.
[123] Macuch R., 1965: XLIV.

collection, in addition to the Mandaic Dictionary which she compiled and published with R. Macuch in 1963.

The oldest Mandaean manuscript in Europe (Marsh. 691) is kept in the Bodleian library. It is a collection of prayers copied by the scribe Adam Zihrun, son of Bihran Šitlan in the year 1529. This codex belonged to a certain Thomas Marshal (1620 or 21- 1685), an English philologist, and was given to Bodleian in 1689 or 1690 by his servant.[124]

§ 1.9 - The Ginza Rba (The Great Treasure)

The Ginza is a big codex (more than 654 pages or 327 folios) consists of two parts: the Right Ginza (GR) and the Left Ginza (GL) each part opposite the other. The Ginza is divided into twenty-one chapters or tractates: eighteen tractates belong to the right Ginza and three tractates to the left Ginza.

§ 1.9. 1 - The Right Ginza

The first two tractates of (GR 1 and GR 2) include moral teachings and description and praise of the King of Light and his world. The third tractate (GR 3) pp. 83– 148, [125] which is the largest in the Ginza, contains the Story of Creation (the subject of this research). The fourth tractate (GR 4) pp. 148-157 is a brief description of Manda d-Hiia's baptism in the heavenly *Yardina* (Jordan) by Mar d-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) plus part of Hibil-Ziwa's descent to the underworld. The fifth tractate (GR 5) pp. 157-237 consists of five

[124] Buckley J. J., 2005: 290.
[125] Numeration is according to the copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this research.

sections: (1) Hibil-Ziwa's journey to the Realm of Darkness (or: the underworld). (2) The gods and demons' defeated by Manda d-Hiia. (3) The souls' ascension to the *Maṭarata* (purgatories). (4) Narration of John the Baptist baptizing Manda d-Hiia in the living water of Jordan. (5) The *'uthra* Šalmai's questioning by the heavenly figure *Yatrun*.

The sixth tractate (GR 6), pp. 237-248, is the journey of Dinanukt[126] ("talking in accordance with religion") to the upper worlds. The Seventh tractate (GR 7) pp. 248-257 contains some of John the Baptist's commandments. The eight tractate (GR 8) pp.257-261 is a small tractate which includes Manda d-Hiia's warning the faithful against Rūha. Tractate nine (GR 9) pp. 261-283 includes two sections: (1) The first is called ܩܪܩܠܬܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܟܘܟܒܝܐ *qarqalta d-šuba kukbia* "the overthrow of seven stars", a polemic chapter against other (false) religious sects. (2) The second section is 'the emanation of Mar d-Rabuta from the ܢܝܦܘܬܐ *niṭufta* (semen?) of the heavenly Jordan'. It also contains material related to creation. Tractate ten (GR 10) pp. 283-297 is a continuation of the creation story and is called 'the Book of Radiance that radiates in the *pihta*'. Tractate eleven (GR 11), pp. 297-325, is called "the Book of Great Anoš" which deals with the conflict between the

[126] Dinanukt is a legendary figure of the Ginza. Dinanukt is an old Persian word means "talking in accordance with religion". (MD p. 108) The legend says that *din melek uthra* (a heavenly being) was sent to the wise priest Dinanukt, who wanted to know about where Life is, and the nature of *Kušṭa*. He fell into a trance and his soul traveled with *din melek*, in a journey to the underworld (*Siniawis*) where he saw the *melki* (spirits) of darkness, and then to the different layers of the World of Light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness. Eventually, he returned to his body and told his people of what he saw in his journey. (For more analysis of this Ginza figure see Widengren, 1950: 62 ff. See also "How Dana Nuk Visited the Seventh Heaven" MII, Ch. IX p. 300). (Cf. "the saintly reformer", Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935) p. 100).

World of Light and Rūha. It also mentions the faulty creation of the material world by Ptahil.

Tractate twelve (GR 12), pp. 325-341, has seven sections. The first section has the uthra Anoš as the speaker. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 are hymns some of which are similar to the hymns of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.[127] Section 6 describes the World of Darkness and its king and inhabitants. Section 7 is a kind of geography; it shows the directions of the worlds and waters. Tractate thirteen (GR 13), pp. 341-349, is called "he Prayer of the *Tarmidia* (Mandaean priests) to the Pious".[128] Tractate fourteen (GR 14), pp. 352-362, is called "the Book of the Great Nbaṭ" which narrates the emanation of Yawar, Yōšamin (the second Life) and many other heavenly beings. Tractate fifteen (GR 15), pp. 364-443, consists of twenty poetic sections of the Redeemer speeches and blessings. Section 15 is Ptahil lamentation and threat of waging a war. Section 16 narrates Manda d-Hiia's visit to Yōšamin and his debate with him. Tractate 16 (GR 16), pp. 446-459, consists of 11 sections, also poetic. The first section speaks of Manda d-Hiia's visit to the world of the Second Life. The rest are speeches and exhortations of the Redeemer.

Tractate seventeen (GR 17), pp. 462-469, consists of two poetic sections: the first talks about the Great First Mana and the Great Occult Eggs that existed before Mar d-Rabuta (The Lord of Greatness). The second part

[127] The hymn in section GR 12:4 is identical to CP hymn n. 214 p. 183.
[128] Buckley believes that the first 13 tractates of the Ginza testify to a fully developed Mandaean Gnosticism (Buckley, 2005: 22).

speaks about the oppression of the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (zodiacs) against the *nišmata* (souls). Tractate twelve (GR 18), pp. 472-491, is a chronology of the material world. It contains information about the three catastrophes which befell the humans in three different epochs or generations.[129] and many other historical events.

§ 1.9.2 - The Left Ginza

This part of the Ginza is divided into three sections or tractates. The first tractate (GRL I) pp. 46-89 consists of four sections. The first section tells the story of Adam and his death, and how Adam's son Šitil (Seth) volunteers to die before his father. The second section is about Adam's complaints about his death and his lamentation. The third section is about Hawa's (Eve) death. The forth is a description of different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) which the soul has to go through before her final destination.

The second tractate (GRL III) pp. 46-89 consists of twenty-eight sections of poetry. In this tractate the Great Mana speaks, beginning each section with the formula: 'I am a Mana of the Great Life.' The last tractate of the Ginza (GL 3) pp. 89-164 consists of 62 sections and deal with the *nišimta* (soul) and her destiny. It also includes the lamentation of the *mana* personifying the soul.

[129] For the comparison between these catastrophes and Sodom and Gomorrah see Stroumsa, 1984: 110 ff.

§ 1.10 - The Ginza used in the Research (GRS):

The copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this work consists of 332 folios (664 pages), and each page consits of 25 lines. It was written in Iran in the late 1990s under the supervision of the Mandaean Council of Ahwaz. The headscribe of this Ginza is Rbai Ganzibra Mhatam Yuhana br Šarat (his Arabic name: Shaikh Jabar the son of Ṭawoos), who is the head-priest of the Mandaean community in Iran (he became a priest in 1948). The colophon at the end of the left part of this Ginza (GRL p. 169) tells us that this copy was written after consulting 5 other Ginzas. The scribes of these Ginzas are: Yahia Ram Zihrun the son of the Rbai Zeki Zihrun, Ram Yuhana the son of Rbai Ram, Zeki Zihrun the son of Ram Zihrun, Sam Yuhana the son of Rbai Behram and Zihrun the son of Mudalal. A copy of Petermann's Ginza was consulted, which he copied during his vistit to southern Iraq in the 1840s from 4 Ginzas, as the colophon calls them (A, B, C, D).[130] Ganzabra Ṣalah Kuhaili was at the head of the team which consisted of the following scribes and scholars: Tarmida Ṭalib Duraji, Tarmida Najah Kohaili, Yalufa Salem Kohaili, Yalufa Jamal Duraji and Yalufa Falah Kuhaili. For the first time, in centuries, three Mandaean women participated in this work: Mudalal the daughter of Šarat and Simat and Sadia the daughters of Mahnuš.

For this research four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India Office at The British Library in London were collated to compile a critical apparatus of variants. The first manuscript is under the title: "Liber Adami

[130] For more details on Heinrich Peterman (1801 – 76) and his visit to the Mandaean community in Iraq see Buckley, 2005: 129 ff.

Mendaice" No. Add 23,599 (henceforth BL 23599) and was presented by Sheik Yahana Chief and High Priest of the Mandaean sect with his petition to her Majesty the Queen, dated 10th December 1872, and forwarded to HM's Ambassador at Constantinople with dispatch No, 3 dated 29th Jan. 1873 from Colonel Herbert, Consul General of Baghdad. The second manuscript bears the title: "Liber Adami Mendaice" No. Add. 23,600 (henceforth: BL 23600). This Ginza is the oldest one in the British Library (bought from Mrs. Taylor in April 1860) and consisting of 315 folios and the scribe is Adam Yuhana. The third *Ginza* codex in the British Library is 'Liber Adami Mendaice' Add. 23,601(henceforth BL 23601) copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The third Ginza codex is 'Liber Adami Mandaice' Add. 23,601 dated 1824, also copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The forth manuscript is entitled: Sidra Rba Mandaitic, Oriental 1236 (henceforth BLO 1236).

Due to many factors, the hand written Mandaean manuscripts are in general tiresome and not easy to read, especially the manuscript (Add 23,599 = BL 23599) of the British Library. Some of these factors are:

1. Poor hand writing and careless copying led the scribes to make numerous spelling mistakes in the manuscripts.
2. These mistakes accumulated through the ages and led to many differences in readings.
3. The only method by which the scribe is allowed to edit a text is by placing dots under the wrongly written word or sentence, because the Mandaeans

believe their writings are sacred and incorrect words or sentences cannot be erased or crossed.

4. The Mandaean manuscripts have no paragraph indents or punctuation marks.
5. Many words are hyphenated (especially at the end of the line) which causes confusion to the reader.
6. Ambiguities in Mandaean script often cause uncertainty and confusion in reading hand written Mandaean texts. The letters which cause such confusion are: ﬧ (ק) and ﬨ (ם); ﬩ (ר) and ﬦ (ד); ﬦ (ד) and ﬩ (ב); ﬣ (הון) and ﬣ (ץ); ﬠ (א) and ﬡ (ה); ﬩ (ק) and ﬩ (ב); ﬢ (ן), ﬤ (ח) and ﬥ (כ). The computer Mandaic font used in this work attempts to faithfully reproduce the manuscript text, but at the same time compensates for the poor handwriting and careless copying in the manuscripts.

The computerized Mandaic font reproduces original text while correcting scribal errors to a great extent. Most previous scholars were obliged to transliterate the Mandaean texts either into Hebrew or Roman characters. A notable exception, and the first scholar who used a Mandaic typeface, was the Frenchman H. Pognon, in his book '*Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*', published in 1898. The computerized characters used in this work are similar to Pognon's. The present work also transliterates every line of the text into Hebrew characters beneath the Mandaic in order to facilitate reading for non-specialists. There are inevitable discrepancies between the present version of the Ginza and the other four versions mentioned above. The

number shown on the margin of some of the pages of the translation correspond to the beginning of the page in the original text.

The translator of the Mandaic texts encounters some difficulties such as:

1. The material of the Mandaean cosmogony, cosmology, theology and soteriology is distributed among much Mandaean literature such as the ڈڈڈ ڈڈڈ *Ginza Rba*, ڈڈڈڈ ڈڈڈڈ Draša d̲-Yahia (The Book of John), Mandaean Hymns and Prayers; ڈڈڈڈڈ *Maṣbuta*, ڈڈڈڈڈ *Masqita*, ڈڈڈڈڈ *'Eniania*, etc), and among the different Diwans, such as *Diwan Abatur*. Mandaean literature is written mostly in mystical way and many religious concepts are considered sacred explanation of which are "reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis."[131]
2. Most of the Mandaean priests abstain (by law) from discussing profound religious matters with a Mandaean layman or a stranger. The holy scriptures strongly advise Mandaean priests against revealing these scriptures to strangers. For example the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) commences with the following ڈڈڈڈ *zhara* "admonition":

> In the name of the Life. *Laufa* (union) and revival of life and a forgiver of sins be there for me N ... by means of these good Questions, hidden from (even) the eyes of the *uthras* and not revealed except to such as guard them, and tell them to one in a generation each to his son. For Hibil-Ziwa placed them in his son's right hand and said, 'Take care, take care, take care,

[131] SA p. xvi.

three hundred and sixty thousand times take care of these Good Questions which Hibil-Ziwa asked of Nbaṭ the Great." [132]

The [illegible] *Naşoraeans* (the priestly group of the Mandaeans) are keen not to reveal the mysteries of the [illegible] *Naşiruta* (priestly knowledge) to their own laity, except to those elite of Mandaeans who dedicate themselves *Naşiruta* and have proven themselves worthy in the line of priesthood. The *Naşoraeans* guard their holy books and scrolls intimately. Their mysteries are not imparted to the Mandaean laymen, no matter how religious they are, fearing that these mysteries might be misinterpreted.[133]

3. The neglect which the Mandaean literature suffered from, for more than fourteen centuries, lead to many differences between the vernacular Mandaean and the Classical Naşoraean Mandaean writings.[134] Most of the Mandaean priests did not receive their priestly knowledge in religious institutes. They usually obtain their priesthood knowledge and apprenticeship from their fathers or from other elderly priests. They teach the initiates reading, writing and the comprehension of Mandaean language, in addition to the practice of the different rites (baptism, communion, marriage etc.) meticulously.[135]

---

[132] ATŠ. P. 110. The Mandaean manuscript p. 2 text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[133] SA p. xiv. Such reluctance to reveal secret knowledge, even to followers of the same community goes back to ancient Mesopotamia. Colophons of cuneiform tablets often repeat such warnings and admonitions. (Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Oxford (1986) pp. 260 - 261).

[134] Macuch, 1965: LIX.

[135] For the consecration of the priest, or *Tarmida* see MII p. 147ff.

The Ginza remains as the largest codex which the Mandaeans inherited from their golden era when Gnosticism flourished amongst the civilization of Babylon and Persia in the east and amongst the Greek and Roman empires in the west. In addition to the liturgies, the Ginza contains the oldest Gnostic (Mandaean) tradition. The Mandaean Gnostic library is equally as important as Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dead Sea Scrolls and they deserve more attention and examination from scholars of Semitic studies.[136]

§ 1.11 - The Mandaean Script:

The Mandaic script belongs to the South Mesopotamian branch of Aramaic besides the Syriac-Palmyrene branch in North Syria and the script of Hatra in north Mesopotamia.[137] The Mandaeans call their alphabet *abgada*. The twenty four letters are sacred and represent the powers of Life and Light. They believe that their inscriptions are protected by Nbu (Babylonian Nabû) "Mercury", the god of writing and wisdom.[138] Some scholars, such as Macuch, believe that there is a close relation between the Mandaic and the Elymaic scripts. Others like Nöldke and Lidzbarski suppose that Mandaic script is related to the Nabaṭian.[139] The Mandaic script is known to us either from the Mandaean manuscripts or form amulets and incantations. Most of them were

---

[136] Rudolph, HR (Feb., 1969) pp. 210-235, esp. p.222.
[137] Naveh, 1982: 132.
[138] MII, p. 240. The old Iraqis believed that science was under the protection of the god Nabû while the goddess Nasaba presided over the art of writing (Roux, 1966: 327).
[139] Naveh, 1970: 33.

probably composed during the Sasanian era and the early Islamic conquest of Iraq, but the earliest known Mandaic text is a lead amulet from the first half of the third century.[140]

No one can precisely determine when the Mandaeans manufactured their script, but Naveh argues that the shapes of the letters suggest that the Mandiac cursive script is a "straightforward evolution from Elymaic."[141] Since Mesene (Maisan) and Characene were neighbours of the kingdom of Elymais, such assumption is strengthened. Many features of the Mandaic script resemble both the Nabaṭaean and the Aramaic of Tang-i Sarvak and Elymaic, such as the letters (ʾ) *alef*, which is simplified from the Elymaic heart shape, (𐡌) *mem* (𐡁) *bet*, (𐡃) *dalet*, etc., but there is no resemblance between the Mandaic(ࡔ) (*š*) and the Elymaic *shen*. [142] Macuch noted, "the most remarkable Mandaean ligatures in the Elymaean inscriptions are the relative particle (ࡃ) *d̲*- and the conjunction (ࡊ) *kd̲* which includes it."[143]

There remains the possibility that the Naṣoreans had brought their own script when they migrated to Southern Mesopotamia, sinces many Mandaean hymns and prayers suggest such a migration. Macuch beleives that the Mandaic script had developed in the second century C.E., since there are no

---

[140] Yamauchi, 1967: 2.
[141] Naveh, 1970: 34.
[142] Coxon, 1970: 20. He writes: "the Mandaic script is the nexus between the Nabaṭaean and Tang-I Sarvak scripts, although Mandaic has a close formal similarity to Nabaṭaean" (For the comparative script chart see Naveh, 1970: 35).
[143] Macuch, "The Origins of the Mandaeans and their Script", JSS, 1971: 187.

significant differences between the Mandaean script on the one hand and the Elymaean and Charcenian on the other.[144]

§ 1.12 - Book III of the Ginza Rba:

Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the 'Ginza Rba'. The Ginza names this tractate as: ܪܙܐ ܘܣܕܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܫܘܬܐ ܗܝܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܠܥܩܕܡܝܐ *raza u sidra qadmaia d-šuta haita qadmaita dhuat mn laqadmaia* 'The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from aforetime (or: from the very beginning)".[145] This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the world of light and the world of darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Forth Life (Ptahil); the demiurge who created the cosmos and *Tibil* (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d-Haiia ('Gnosis of Life' or: 'Knowledge-of-Life') and his descent to the underworld and his triumph against the creatures of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *'sṭōna* (the human body). Tractate III also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

---

[144] Ibid, p. 190.

[145] Widengren believes that the Mesopotamian back ground of heavenly books preexistent before creation and containing destinies is clear in the conception of the Book III of the Ginza (Widengren, 1950: 10, 74-75).

The "Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine" begins with folio 42r (p. 83) and ends at folio 74v (p. 148: 6) in the copy of the Ginza used in this work.[146] The language of is mostly poetic and written in classical Mandaic. The text consists of 2 prose sections and 2 poetic sections. The text begins with a prose section (pp. 83: 15 – 87: 21) followed by a prolonged poetic section (pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1). A second, but smaller, prose section is found nearly in the middle of the text (pp. 119: 1 – 120: 11) followed by another poetic section until the end of the text.

§ 1.13 - The Mandaean Story of Creation

Mesopotamia gave birth to many legends and myths such, as the epic of Gilgamesh, Enūma Eliš, Ninūrta, Ea and Inana. Out of the crucible of Mesopotamia, the land of reeds and swamps comes forth the Mandaean story of Creation. It is a unique piece of literature infused with Babylonian gods, demons and biblical motifs. With the conquest of Babylon by the Persian Empire 539 BCE,[147] and the subsequence Greek invasion of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE,[148] the Mandaean story of creation comes under the influence of Persian dualism and Greek mythology.

It addresses *hiia qadmaiia* the Ancient Life, the afterlife, Dualism, and cosmology. The language symbolic of Gnosticism is very poetical and is the first complete account of creation from Mesopotamia. It contains ethical and

[146] The Mandaeans conceived of hidden books in heaven existing before creation. (Ibid)
[147] George Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, (1964) p. 352.
[148] Cantor N. F., *Alexander the Great*, (2005) p. 142.

religious principles that emerged during the period when Mesopotamians demonised their gods. The Mandaean priests still recite the story of creation, on the banks of the rivers, in the same manner as their ancestors the Naşraeans used to do in the ancient times.

The Mandaean story of creation is the product of the beginning of the Gnostic era when the Mandaean world was imprinted by the dualism of ܐܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ *alma d-nhūra* the World of Light and ܐܠܡܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ *alma d-hšuka* the World of Darkness. The World of Light was conceived by unknown god ܢܘܟܪܝܐ *nukraiia* (alien); a sublime being usually referred to as ܡܢܐ *mana* (the First) Intelligence, ܚܝܐ *hiia* The Life and ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ *malka d-nhūra* the King of Light. ܐܠܡܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ *alma d-hšuka* the World of Darkness is the product of the dark waters and is ruled by the King of Darkness, the leviathan 'Ur, and his mother/spouse Rūha;the goddess of the underworld. The Mandaean story of Creation narrates the doomed revolt of the vice-regent Yōšamin (the Second Life) and his sons, the uthras, Abatur (the Third Life) and Ptahil (the Forth Life and the demiurge who created the physical world), against the higher deities of the World of Light. It also describes the eternal conflict between Light and Darkness and the defeat of the World of Darkness on the hands of the valiant uthra Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life) when he descended to the underworld and subdued the evil creatures of darkness. The prime of the Story of Creation is the creation of Adam, the First Man, by Ptahil with the assistance of Rūha and her sons ܫܝܒܝܗܝܐ *šibiahiia* (the Planets), but Ptahil could not make Adam stand on his feet. A *mana*, a sparkle of Light, was

brought form the World of Light and cast into Adam's trunk. At that moment Adam opened his eyes and stood on his feet. The beings of Light created Hawa (Eve), to be Adam's wife in order to spread ڀڕڒڒڒ ڀڕڒڒڒ *šurbta d-hiia* the family of Life.

The Mandaean story of creation contains many obscure terms of creation such as *pira* (fruit), *mana* (intelligence, mind) *ziwa* (radiance), *nhūra* (light) *ayar* (ether), *yardina* (Jordan), *uthras* (beings of Light), *hapiqia mia* (streams o f water), *yura* (a being of light, brilliance), ڀڕڒڒڒ ڀڕڒڒڒ *nišimta urūha* (soul and spirit) and many more. There is not one single account of the creation of the cosmos, but rather multiple accounts. In the Ginza Rba there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in tractates 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18. Tractate III, however, contains the most part of the story. This work endeavors to explain such obscurities for a better understanding of the Mandaean legend of creation. Book III consists of four fractions; two written in prose and two in poetry:

1. The first fraction (GRR, pp. 83: 16 - 87: 21) begins with prose language narrating the first emanation of the Mana and the manifestation of the Life and the other principles of cosmogony, including the creation of the Mandaean messenger Manda d-Hiia.
2. The second fraction (GRR, pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1) is written in poetical language. It is the longest fraction of book III and narrates: (a) The descent of the Messenger Manda d-Hiia to the World of Darkness and his

confrontation with the forces of the World of Darkness. (b) The creation of the material world by the Mandaean demiurge "Ptahil".

3. The third fraction (GRR, pp. 119 - 120: 11) is the shortest fraction, written in prosaic language, and speaks about the time of creation and about Ptahil's intentions concerning the creation of Adam and Eve with the assistance of the Planets.
4. The fourth fraction (GRR, pp. 120: 11 until the end of the book i.e. p. 148) narrates (a) The creation of Adam and Eve. (b) The descent of the *nišimta* "soul" into Adam's body (c) Rūha's attempts to seduce Adam in order to capture him in the world. (d) Manda d̲-Hiia prevents Rūha and her entourage "the Planets" from tempting Adam. (e) Description of the sects which were produced from the forces of Darkness.

§ 1.14 - The Main features of Mandaic Poetry:

Since the Mandaeans were not at all familiar with punctuation, it is hard to distinguish between the prosaic and poetic passages in the Mandaean texts. In spite of this, Lidzbarski could differentiate between the two types. He wrote a plausible introduction dedicated to the Mandaic and Aramaic poetry in his valuable book "*Mandäische Liturgien*".[149]

The language of the Ginza belongs to the classical period, which was not under the influence of the Arabic language.[150] This may prove that the

[149] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, Berlin (1920).
[150] Macuch has divided the Mandaic literature into three historical periods: classical, postclassical and modern. The final redaction of the classical period took place in the year 272 CE according to the Mandaean copyist Zāzai d̲-Gawaztā (Macuch, 1965: LXV).

redaction of the book was long before the Islam conquest of Iraq in the seventh century C.E. The Ginza is written mainly in poetry which "represents a fully developed Babylonian-Aramaic idiom and a poetic skill which has neither surpassed nor equaled in Mandaean literature."[151] Their geographical remoteness also made them less exposed to the Hellenistic influences.[152]

Unfortunately, this aspect of Mandaic literature remained neglected by the Semitists until Söderbergh shed the light on various Mandaic poetic forms compared to the psalms of the Coptic Psalms of Thomas. He claimed priority for the Mandaic hymns over the Coptic ones.[153] After his detailed comparison he concluded that the "Mandaic poetry, had on the whole a regular beat of 3:3, that is the line consisted of two hemistiches with three stresses in each hemistich."[154] Example:

שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא	ﻫﻮﻟﺸﻲ ﺣﻞ ﺣﻨﻜﻜﻮ ﭘﻪﺻﻮ
דַקאימיא ומשאביא לרורביא	ﻯ ﻟﻜﻤﻮ ﻧﻜﻬﻮﻛﻮ ﻟﻜﻨﻜﻨﻜﻮ
שאלטוך על יארדנא דַרורביא	ﻫﻮﻟﺸﻲ ﺣﻞ ﻮﻛﻜﻪ ﻯ ﻟﻜﻨﻜﻨﻜﻮ
ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא	ﻧﺤﻞ ﻫﻜﻮ ﺳﻮ ﻧﻜﻤﻠﻮ

He made you rule over the concealed uthras,
who are standing and praising the great (ones)
He made rule over the Jordan of the great (ones),
and over thee living and vigorous waters.[155]

---

[151] Macuch, 1965: LXV
[152] Jonas, 1958: 48.
[153] Söderbergh, 1949: 127 f.
[154] Greenfield, 1989: 101.
[155] GRR, p. 89: 8

The transposition language[156] is a main feature of the Mandaic poetry; that is repeating the same verse with changing position of the words. Example:

תריסאר בוריא קאבלאת מינהַ
מינהַ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא
She conceived by him twelve beasts,
by him she conceived twelve beasts.[157]

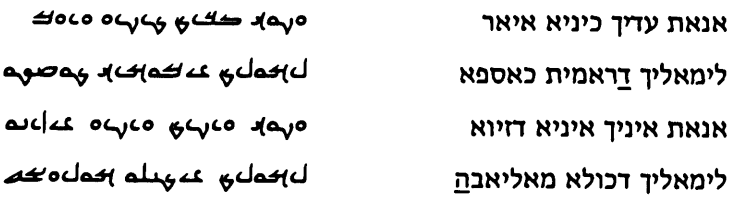
Another interesting feature of the Mandaic poetry is the paired words. The following examples taken from book III of the Ginza:

יאקדיא ומהאביניא "burn and blaze" (89: 25), זריזא ומזארזיא "the well armed and equipped" (89: 1), האסיר ובציר "flaw and deficiency" (88: 22), הארשיא ופודריא "witchcraft and sorcery" (90: 4), "repulsive and dreadful (or: ugly and appalling)" (91: 3), זריזא ומקאימא "the valiant and confirmed" (93: 7), בהיריא זידקא "the righteous elect" (93: 11), עריא וראוזיא "radiant and resplendent" (91:25) etc.

Greenfield draws out attention to a "favorite topos" in the Mandaean literature which concerns parts of the body and senses – eyes, ears, mouth hands, knees, feet etc.[158] The following from book III is a good example. These verses remind us of the Song of Songs:

קומתיך ארזא ראמא
לימאליך דַסאיית מיא
אנאת שאקאך גופניא איאר
לימאליך דַראמית דאהבא

[156] or: "ergative language".
[157] GRR, 113: 23.
[158] Greenfield, 1989: 106.



אנאת עדיך כיניא איאר
לימאליך דַראמית כאספא
אנאת איניך איניא דזיוא
לימאליך דכולא מאליאבה

Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
why do you wash with water?
Your thighs are vine of ether,
why do you wear gold?
your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
why do you wear silver?
Your eyes are eyes of radiance
why do you fill them with kohl? [159]

In book III we find good examples of the Naṣoraean Gnostic poetry which needs more attention. In this respect Jonas plausibly noted: "The Mandaic poetry gives wonderful expression to the gratefully believing acceptance of the message and the ensuing conversion of the heart and renewal of life."[160]

[159] GRR, 137: 21
[160] Jonas, 1958: 89. Stroumsa indicates that the Gnostic language is an imagery one and it should be studied as "mystical poetry" (Stroumsa, 1984:3).

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative:

§ 2 .1 - The First Account of the Theogony:

The text begins with the following formula:

> In the name of the great ܢܘܟܪܝܐ *nukraiia* alien Life [161] from the countless worlds of Light which is above all deeds. This is the mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from afore time. [162]

The main events in this account are: (a) at the beginning the *pira* (fruit) was inside the *pira* and the *ayar* (eather) was inside the *ayar*. (2) The great Mana (intelligence) "awakened" and produced great *manas* without count. (3) great and countless *piras* and *škinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from the great *pira*. (4) by the will of the great Mana, the great white *yardina* (Jordan) "river" came into being and from the great Jordan countless jordans came into being.

The first account of theogony contains three main elements of creation: (a) ܦܝܪܐ *Pira* "fruit" (b) ܐܝܐܪ Ayar (Ether) (c) ܡܢܐ *Mana* (Mind or: Intelligence). The ܫܟܝܢܐ *škinas* (celestial dwelling) and the ܝܪܕܢܐ *Yardina* (Jordan) are the products of the first emanation:

---

[161] ܢܘܟܪܝܐ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, 'In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds' speaks of the 'first' Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations),' i.e., above the world and 'free from any kind of relation to the world (Rudolf, K., 1983: 62). The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols and a major theme which we encounter in Gnostic speech (Stroumsa, 1984: 87). The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here (Jonas, H., 1958: 49). The Life is an outer entity ܚܝܐ ܒܪܝܐ *hiia baraiia* (CP p. 78), and therefore the Mandaeans, and the Gnostics in general, saw themselves as a "kingless race" ruled by no one (Stroumsa, 1984: 87).

[162] GRR p. 83: 15. The text:
ܒܫܡ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܗܘ ܪܙܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܣܦܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܙܒܢ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܒܗ

When the Pira was inside the Pira, and when the Ayar was inside the Ayar, and when the great Mana of glory was there, great and mighty Manas came into being, whose radiance is so vast and whose light is great; no one before them was in the great fruit which was so immense and without limit, and whose radiance was greater than the words of the mouth and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray. As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit, a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of fruits emanated from him. In each and every fruit were a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of *škinas*. They all stand there and praise the great Mana of glory who exists (lives) in the great Ether of Life that is within the Jordan (river) of the white waters which gushed out from the Great Mana. Then the great Jordan came into being, and from the great Jordan, Jordans without count poured forth. [163] (See Chart A).

§2 .1. 1 - ڤڕا Pira:

The meaning of *Pira* is uncertain and doubtful; of various suggested meanings, perhaps that of "Fruit" (H. פרי) or "vagina". [164] This term is used by the Mandaeans as an expression of emanation.[165] In the first version of creation we find out that the *Pira* (fruit) and the *Ayar* (ether) are the two primal elements of existence and the "habitat" in which the Great Mana (mind, intelligence) existed. In the Mandaean belief, the *Pira Rba* (Great Pira) is the origin of all things.[166] It existed before creation and before all worlds (aeons) and is the core matter of existence. It is

---

[163] GRR p. 83: 19.

[164] The second meaning for the pira is "cleft" or "vagina" as in, ڤڕا ڤڕسلا "vagina and phallus" (MD. P., 372).

[165] The epithet Fruit used of the moon-god in Mesopotamia, of whom it is said that he is the Fruit which is born by itself, '*en-bu šá ina ra-ma-ni-šū ib-ba-nu*' (Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta,* p. 24 cited by Widengren, 1946: 22 n. 3).

[166] Other Gnostics such as Basilides (2nd century religious teacher in Alexandria – Egypt) believe that all the universe and creations derived their being form the cosmic seed (Wilson, 1958: 124).
According to Zurvanism, the old Persian religion, Time enters a body within the seed of creation or unformed matter, from which all forms arose (Zaehner, 1955: 111 ff.).

the original divine power from which everything came into being, even the King of Light:

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was inside the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[167]

The Great *Pira* is a primal entity and a symbol of fertility. It is the "womb" or the "matrix" which gave birth to the succeeding manifestations of the beings of Light, when the first Intelligence (Mana) decided to cohabit with its ڈکنڈ *dmuta* "counterpart" (or with its ڈبہ *şauta* "companion") in order to create ڈکڈڈ *adiauria* "helpers", erect the heavenly lights and bring forth messengers of life to preserve him in his concealment, as we perceive from the following passage:

> I am conversing with my *dmuta* (counterpart) [168] (and say to her), Come, let us, create (lit. build), me and you, through a mystic call in the sublime fruit. Until fruits are created for us, until helpers are sent for us, you will praise me and I will praise you. We will remain preserved within the ample radiance and provide (lit. arrange) for each other perfectly . . . As he spoke thus, he thought of the *şauta* (companion)[169] that existed in the sublime fruit. He spoke and pondered, I will create *şauta* "companion" to my right and lights to

---

[167] GRR book 3 p. 91: 17. The text:

[168] ڈکنڈ dmuta: דמותא, ܕܡܘܬܐ, counterpart, image, shape, form, effigy, likeness, double (MD p. 111 and DJPA p. 151). The Mandaeans believe that every man and every light-being has a double; a counterpart. Each individual has his own likeness in the ideal world of *Mšunia Kušţa* (the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and inhabited by their righteous doubles. (For more details on this ideal world see MII p. 54 n. 1 and SA Ch, V p. 39z). In the Peshitta the first born "Christ" is the image ܕܡܘܬ of god. (Widengren, 1964: 23) The Mandaean idea of "image" is repeated in Manichaeism: Mani received his revelation through his Syzygos "Twin or: Pair-comrade". (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 5) The ancient Mesopotamians believed in the magic powers of the image as we read that the Mitanni king Tusharatta has sent an image of Ishtar to the Pharaoh of Egypt to cure him from an intractable disease (Roux 1964: 231).

[169] ڈبہ *şauta:* consort, company, companionship, society (MD p. 386).

my left and I shall bring forth messengers of life to look after me in (my) concealment.[170]

The Pira, the celestial fruit, is the dwelling of the *nišmata* "souls", where they grow and blossom, as well as it is the dwelling of the Mana, Life, and the other heavenly beings:

"*nišimta* (the soul) grows and blossom in the *Pira* of the Life."[171]

This concept is emphasized by the messenger Hibil-Ziwa's[172] proclamation that he is the one who created the white fruit of in which the *nišmata* (souls) are imbued:

> I created the white fruit, in which the souls are enveloped. From it they flower up and ascend to be weighed.[173]

It is rather difficult to give a precise definition of the *Pira* because it is considered a [illegible] *raza* mystery not revealed to any earthly being, even to prophets. John the Baptist *iahia iuhana* was ready to exchange his earthly life for the knowledge of the mysteries of the "world beyond" when the redeemer *Manda d̲-Hiia* appeared to him in the form of a young lad:

> And reveal to me the secrets of the kings (or: angels), and (the secrets of) [illegible] *pira rba d̲-nhūra* the Great Fruit of Light, and why the clods and rubble (?) were subdued, and the basis of the

170 GRR, book 15: 10, p. 398: 14 f. The text:
[illegible]

171 GRL, book 3: 16, p. 114: 18. The text:
[illegible]

172 Hibil-Ziwa is a being of light, a messenger and the son of the Mandaean Gnosis of Life "Manda d̲-Hiia".

173 The Mandaean BJ p. 191: 18. The text:
[illegible]

water from which the living fire spread out, and *škina* in which the Life dwells, and who is older and greater and mightier than the other.[174]

In the Ginza Rba, the *Pira* is personified as a heavenly being who takes part in promoting the redeemer Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life). It is by the great *Pira* of glory's command the redeemer received the *kušṭa* [175] from the Great Ones:

> "By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory, I (Manda d-Hiia) received the *kušṭa* from them." [176]

Moreover, the *Pira* is the reward of the World of Light to the pious Mandaeans as we recite one the hymns of the *masiqta* (the book of *masiqta* Ascension):

> Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed, swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens." [177]

---

[174] GRR, book 5:4, p. 223: 1. The text:

[175] *Kušṭa* ڤشط , vow, oath, pact, etc. (MD p. 209). *Kušṭa* is the ritual of the exchange of the right hand-clasp between the Mandaeans which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage, etc.). The act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. The Pharsis greet one another with a similar rite called the *hamazor* (MII p. 238). Lady Drower believes that "the Pharsis use the *hamazor* as much as Mandaeans use the *kušṭa*" (ATŠ, p. 154 n. 1). The *kušṭa* is personified in many Mandaean manuscripts. It is a "messenger from the Life on his way hither" (ATŠ, p. 236). The *kušṭa* is considered a synonym of Manda d-Hiia (CP p. 44). The seal of *kušṭa* binds and seals the souls and spirits (Ibid p. 63). In Mandaeism, *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. The *Kušṭa* is the 'heavenly' oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism. The Mandaeans consider the *Kušṭa* a communion with the World of Light. The Primal man, according to the Manicheans, was delivered from his captivity among the hosts of Darkness by the supernal entity known as the Living Spirit, who extended to him his right hand and removed him from the conflict" (Reeves, 1996: 124). (For more details concerning the *Kušṭa*, see Sundberg, 1953).

[176] GRR, book 3 p. 88: 1. The text:

[177] CP. p. 35. Hymn no. 35 p. 126. Drower's translation, text collated:

The sexual symbolism is quite common in the Mandaean literature as well as in the rest of the Mesopotamian literature. Mandaeism is the faith of life and fertility,[178] and "if the man has no wife, there will no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth."[179] The mystic union of the female and male principles is reflected in many hymns and songs. In the following marriage song, the Pira is the symbol of "virginity" or "womb":

> O crowned bride "Fruit that is enclosed! Who revealed our secret and broadcasted our wisdom to the highways? [180]

The *Pira* is related to other mystic elements of creation such as the *tana* (container, matrix), *pihta* (sacramental bread?), *niṭufta* (drop, sperm), and *hilbuna* (egg, container, habitat).[181] It is also identified with the [182]ⲁⲛⲁ *tana*, which is another ambiguous other-worldly element of creation.[183]

§ 2.1.2 - ⲁⲩⲁⲣ Ayar (Ether):

Ayar (Ether) is the second element in the first version of creation with the *Pira*. It is the rarest of all elements of creation and a personification of the purest

---

This hymn provides strong evidence of the Mandaeans' natural habitats. The heat of the marshes of and the birds nesting among the canebrakes and the *mašhūf* (the boat of the marshes) sailing through is a typical Mesopotamian picture. (for the same image see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A/2 p. 180 a).

[178] MII p. xxi.

[179] Ibid p. 59.

[180] ŠQŠR p. 59. (the Mandaean QŠR p. 16) Drower's translation, text collated. The Mandaean text:

ⲉⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛ

[181] MD. pp. 144, 298, 370, 470.

[182] tana ⲁⲛⲁ (= kana, Akk. tannu) a mythological term meaning container, matrix, vessel or base. The word is used when describing primeval creative processes. (MD. p. 479. *tannu*(m): a wooden bowl, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2000) p. 398. *kannu*(m): a large vessel, p. 146).

[183] There are many resemblances between the Mandaean *pira* (fruit) and the seed in Basilides doctrine which says: "From the cosmic seed was begotten the Great Archon who created for himself a son. Then a demiurge comes into being who engendered a son from matter and reduced the world to order" (Wilson, 1958: 124-6).

heavenly atmosphere in which the Mandaean deities dwell.[184] The concept of Paradise in the Mandaean belief is different from that of the Jews, Christians and Moslems. The Mandaeans' final destination is the World of Light, a world of pure (energy) which contains no material pleasures.

When a Mandaean dies his soul is released and flies towards the [illegible] *maṭaratia* (purgatories or: watch-houses). After necessary purification the soul reaches her final destination; the realm of light. In the world of light there is nothing material, only jordans of living water, heavenly *Ayar* (Ether) which is most pure and clear and colorful flowers and evergreen plants and trees exist.[185] The soul brings *Ayar* with her when she descends into this world and settles in the human trunk and her (the soul) reward, after death, is to travel back to the World of Light and dwells in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether):

> She (the soul) rises up from one throne and seats herself on another firm throne. And (thus) by means of nine occult process (*ginzia*)[186] we set her up (at last) in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether). [187]

The *Ayar* (ether) preceded water in existence and in order to create the *uthras* and make them thrive, the Great One commanded that a "reservoir" of Living Water to be created and to flow to the (land of) Ether:

> In the Ayar (world) there is no water! As there is no water in the Ayar, by what can the *'uthras* thrive? How can the *'uthras* thrive and

[184] SA p. 15.
[185] MII p. 53.
[186] Or mystical properties (ATŠ, p. 186).
[187] ATŠ p. 186. Mandaic ATŠ p. 55. The text:
[illegible]

(how can) *Naşiruta*[188] be installed in their hearts? They created a store of living waters (and) let it flow down to the Ayar. They sent down, caused it to flow down, to the *Ayar*, to the *'uthras*. All of them savoured it and it was fragrant: All *'uthras* savoured it and it pleased. The *'uthras* all drank and throve. They drank and rejoiced thereat and into their hearts *Naşiruta* was installed. [189]

Ayar (Ether) is the swiftest elements of Life. It is the breath of Life which dwells in every living thing and the sweet breath from the North Star:

Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it *Ayar-Ziwa*.[190]

Just as the heavenly Jordan mixes with the earthly waters and purifies them, *Ayar* mixes the worldly air and purifies it. *Ayar-Rba* (the Great Ether), *Ayar-Ziwa* (the Radiant Ether) and *Ayar-Sagia*[191] (the Plentiful Ether) are personification of the divine and pure atmosphere which gave birth to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa and all kings.[192]

The Essenes, share the idea that pure ether is the source of life, and believe that souls emanate from the most subtle air and incorporate with man's body.[193] *Ayar*

---

[188] *Naşiruta:* The true faith of the Mandaean/Naşoreans; the esoteric knowledge and wisdom only given to Mandaean priests (DM, p. 286). It is the deep knowledge of priestcraft and religion. The Naşoraiia are those who are thoroughly versed in the faith and doctrines of the sect. (ATŠ, p. 14) In this respect Rudolph writes, "The earliest self-designations to be found in Mandaean literature are "elect of righteous" (*bhiri zidqa*) and "Naşoreans" (*naşuraiyī*), i. e. "guardians" or "possessors" of secret rites and knowledge." (Rudolph, 1983: 343).

[189] CP p. 194. Mandaean hymn n. 239. The text (Drower's translation, text collated):

[190] MII, p. 249.

[191] ATŠ p. 165.

[192] Hibil-Ziwa is a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Mandaean Redeemer Manda d-Hiia.

[193] "bodies corruptible, but their souls are immortal; and they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons . . . when they are set free from the bonds of the

perhaps corresponds to the old Persian the god of the wind Vāy, that blows between heaven and earth, and who became the space separating the Kingdom of Light above and the Kingdom of Darkenss below.[194] Just like Vāy who is located between the earth and sky, Mandaean *Ayar* exists above the sky and beneath the earth:

> The outer *Ayar* (Ether) is held above the skies and exists beneath the earth . . . it is the sublime ether-atmosphere in which kings hold council; and they hold to it, for they call it *qina* (nest, home) since all mysteries are nurtured therein. [195]

Like Vāy who is the life-giving power,[196] the Mandaean Ayer, who proceeded form Light, shines forth the uthras who dwell in the "world beyond":

> 'They sent Hibil-Ziwa to give them information to the *uthras* who sit there; and he said unto them, "From Radiance proceeded Light, and from Light proceeded *Ayar* (Ether), Ayar proceeded from Light and glory was shown forth to the *uthras* who sit there." [197]

§2.1.3 - [illegible] *Mana* (Intelligence, Vessel) :

[illegible] *Mana* (often hardly translatable) is defined by Jonas: "Mana is the name for the transmundane Power of Light, the first deity, *and* at the same time that for the transcendent, non-mundane center of the individual ego."[198] The Great "Mana" is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life.

---

flesh, they then, as released from long bondage, rejoice and mount upward" (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book II, ch. 8. 11).

[194] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[195] ATŠ, pp. 173, 74, Mandaic ATŠ p. 50. The text:
[illegible]

[196] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[197] ŠQŠR p. 52. (the Mandaean *Qabin ḏ- Šišlam Rba*, p. 14: 1) The text:
[illegible]

[198] Jonas, 1958: 123, 4.

The "mana" of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great "Mana". This Gnostic conception appears in many forms of syncretistic philosophy.[199] In some features the Mandaean Mana corresponds to the Persian *Vohu Mana* (later form "*Bahman*") which means "good mind". It is the "power" which represents intelligence and wisdom.[200] He is the Lord of the Heaven who established his sovereignty through Truth.[201] In Mandaeism, "truth" ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. It is the "heavenly" oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism:[202]

> In great radiance am I immersed and in resolute light am I established. Manda baptized me; *kušṭa* (oath) confirmed me.[203]

As to the relation between the Mandaean Mana and the Iranian "Vohu-Mana", Lady Drower points out:

> The "mana" is the eternal part of the human soul which when freed of earthly pollution is re-united to the Great Mana. The Great Mana seems to correspond to the Zoroastrian Vohu-Mana, and represents a Cosmic Intelligence or Supersoul.[204]

In Zoroastrianism the *Vohu-Manah* (the good mind) is in a struggle with *Aka-Manah* (the evil or bad mind), and at the end *Vohu-Mana* will prevail.[205] In the Mandaean literature the *mana* represents intelligence or the mind, from which the whole of existence came into being. The only occasion where we come across evil

---

[199] MHZ p. 35 n. 1.
[200] See MG, p. xxxii das ich etwa mit "Geist" (oder wohl noch besser mit "Intelligenz") übersetzen möchte.
[201] *The Gathas of Zarathushtra, Hymns and Praise of Wisdom*, translated by P. Nanavutty 1999: 48-9.
[202] For Mandaean baptism see above §1.41.
[203] CP p. 52. (*Masiqta*, Hymn No. 63) The text:
[illegible]
[204] DA n. 10, p. 18.
[205] Boyce 1975: 283. See also Zaehner, 1955: 121.

manas in the Mandaean literature is in the journey of the messenger Hibil-Ziwa to the underworld, where first met Rūha, and when he descended further, Hibi-Ziwa encountered the two spirits of Darkness which were called *manas*:

> "I went (downwards) and I found those two great Manas of Darkness." [206]

The great, secret first Mana concealed himself in his *škina* for nine hundred and ninety nine millions (?) of years before he became manifest and initiated the existence, as we read in one of the hymns:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who dwelt for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his on *škina* – for no companion came to him; save that great, secret First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein. [207]

During this endless time of the Mana's "incubation" in his *škina* "cocoon", the whole being was inert and the whole of existence was in oblivion. Nothing existed until the Great Mystic Mana decided to emanate from himself and with him three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial world of light came into being and shone:

> I worship, laud and praise that Mystic First Mind (*Mana*) of Glory, who emanated from Himself, whose brilliance exceeds all (other) mystic glories; it is greater than word of mouth (can describe) and his light mightier than lips can express for He is the *Mana* (Mind), the great, the mysterious, the First of Glory, the great mighty *Mana*, in the radiance of which banner three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial worlds of light shine.[208]

---

[206] GRR book 5 p. 163: 10. The text:

[207] CP p. 36. (*Masiqta* Hymn 36) Drower's translation, text collated:

[208] CP n. 374 p. 267, (Mandaic hymn No. 374, p. 401) Drower's translation, text collated:

With the Great Mana's manifestation, existence came into motion and all the worlds gained power and the lamps and lights started to glow.[209] Lady Drower explains this move as follows:

> By the first creative impulse, when the Great Life became active and "Non-Existence" became "Existence", assumed an anthropomorphic shape.

The explanation of this is given by *Naşiruta* in theological rather than metaphysical language.[210] She established her statement by referring to one of the hymns:

> In the name of the great powerful Mana (Mind) who thought and evoked companionship of Itself and said, "There shall be companionship for Me". [211]

Nevertheless, the Great Mana has no share in the creation of the material world. He remains *nukraia* an "unknown", "unperceivable". 'The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here.'[212] The worlds and generations cannot comprehend his nature and the nature of his counterpart:

> Then he taught about the *Mana* (*Nous* or Intelligence) and its Counterpart, for the world and generations know them not – that they correspond to that which comes from the (brain) matter and the vision of the heart (inner vision) that is within them.[213]

---

[209] GRR book 17 p. 464: 3. The text:

[210] SA p. 23.

[211] Lady Drower referred to hymn No. 375 of the CP instead of No. 373 p. 262. The text:

[212] Jonas, 1958: 49.

[213] ATŠ p. 174. Plotinus, (3rd century C.E.), portrays the real lord of the universe is an unknown "otherworldly", "alien" god who dwells beyond all visible creation. The Secret Book of John describes him as "The [true] God, the Father of the All, the Holy [Spirit], the invisible,

Mandaean literature describes the Manas as pure mass of radiance and light. No one can behold their images because their radiance is blinding the eyes and their light is dazzling. When Manda d-Hiia brought Hibil into the presence of the Manas, he was afraid of their immense radiance and clear light:

> He aroused, went and led him (Hibil) into the presence the Glorious Manas. When Hibil, the fore-ordained Mana, entered he was startled because their radiance was transcendent and their light was overwhelming. He was not able to behold their images because their radiance was colossal and their light was enormous.[214]

When the messenger Hibih-Ziwa returned from his journey from the World of Darkness to the World of Light, the *Mana* and his Counterpart ܡܢܐ ܐܘܕܡܘܬ *mana udmuth* received him and welcomed him. In order to receive full purification he descended towards the First Jordan "of the Mana and his counterpart" and his father (Manda d-Hiia) baptized him and pronounced secret ܪܘܫܡܝܐ *rušmia* (signs) over him.[215]

The following verse is one of the most beautiful verses in the Ginza which is recited at the initiation of a new priest. The Mana speaks about his dwelling in the sea until wings were formed for him. At the moment he became a winged creature, he spread his wings and flew towards the Place of Light:

> I am a great *mana*, a *mana* am I, a son of the Great Ones. I dwelt in the sea, in the sea I dwelt until wings were formed for me, until for me

---

who is over the all, who exists in his imperishability, since he [is in] the pure light into which no eye may look" (Rudolph, 1983: 61, 62 and 63). Lady Drower in her argument against those who claim that neo-Platonism influenced Naşoraean gnosis directly or indirectly raises the following question: "As for the possibility that neo-Platonism influenced Naşoraean gnosis *directly*, and 'directly' should be stressed, why the Naşoraeans adopted the word Mana for the Creative Mind instead of the Greek νοὺς (Nous)?" (SA p. 46) She emphasizes that "The word used for "Mind", *mana* is not in the sense Semitic but Iranian" (SA p. 2).

[214] GR book 5: 1 p. 159: 16.

[215] GRR book 5: 1 pp. 178-9.

wings were formed, until I became a winged creature. When I became a winged creature I spread my wings for the Place of Light.[216]

The above verse reminds us of the Ōannēs[217] legend which was written in Greek by the Babylonian priest Berossus. He described Ōannēs as having the body of a fish but underneath the figure of a man which dwelt in the Persian Gulf. He rose out of the waters in the daytime furnishing mankind with instruction in writing, the arts and the various sciences. Mead believes that Ōannēs' revelation is fundamental among the Mandaeans and it might be related to the Redeemer of the world, the Celestial Man who is expected to rise from the heart of the ocean, as it is written in the Apocalypse of Ezra.[218]

The Mana is the crystal crown which crowns the head of the Great (Life):

The *Mana* spoke to the generations: "I am a crystal crown. A crystal crown I am, which crowns the head of the Great (Life)."[219]

In addition to Mana, the heavenly being, there is the *mana* in the sense of *nišimta* soul; the hidden sparkle of light. When Ptahil created Adam he

---

[216] GRL book 3: 30 p. 134: 4. The text:

[217] Ōannēs – Greek form of Uan, a name given to Adapa by Berossus. "Adapa was the first of the antediluvian seven sages who were sent by Ea, the wise god of Eridu to bring the arts of civilization to mankind" (Dalley 2000: 183).

[218] Mead's comment in this concern is notable; he writes: "Indeed the Fisher-figure cannot fail at once to remind students of the comparative science of religion of the ancient Babylon fish-clad fisher-god Hani-Ōannēs – the archaic Ea, father of Marduk the saviour god of Babylon who rose early from the dead." (See also Brandt, 1889: 148 ff.) This primeval God of Wisdom was the culture-god who had taught early mankind all the arts of civilization. Berossus, the Chaldaean priest (281 B.C.E.) who wrote Babyloniaca in Greek for Antiochus I, tells us of no less than six manifestations of Ōannēs in successive periods; and this notion of revelation and saving in successive periods is fundamental with the Mandaeans. Ōannēs rose from the sea – the waters presumably of the Persian Gulf, in the old story; but Marduk, his son descended from heaven (Mead, 1924: 17, see also Pallis, 1926: 47).

[219] GRL book 3: 47 p. 147: 3. "Crown of my head" is a courtesy phrase with which the Iraqis usually address their respected ones. The text:

could not make him stand on his feet. He, therefore, had to fetch a hidden *mana* (soul) from the House of Life and cast it into the bodies of Adam and his wife Eve.[220] This being of light *mana* (soul) had to sojourn in the ʿlwʿ *špinza* "inn" (the human body) against its will.[221] Because of this imprisonment (in the stinking body of man), the *mana* (soul) laments and complains:

> "Why did you carry me away from abode into captivity and cast me into the stinking body?" [222]

The lamentation of the *mana* (soul) is the main theme of GRL book 2, and bears the characteristics of the lamentations of ancient Mesopotamia:

> "I am a Mana of the great Life I am a Mana of the mighty Life. Who has made me live in the Tibil, who has thrown me into the body's trunk?" [223]
> "For a long time I have endured and been dwelling in the world" [224]
> "A Mana am I of the great Life. Who has thrown me into the suffering of the worlds, who has transported me to the evil darkness?" [225]

On the other hand, it is through the sacrifice of the *mana* or the *nišmta* (the soul) the World of Light could defeat the World of Darkness:

> O, *nišimta* soul rise and go and enter inside the body and be a prisoner inside the Palace. The rebellious Lion will be captured by you, the grim furious Lion. The Dragon will be captured by you, and killed in on the

---

[220] GRR book 10, pp. 287-8.
[221] GRL book 3: 20 p. 122: 12. We find the same conception of the "inn" in the "Hymn of the Pearl", Act of Thomas (Jonas, 1958: 55-6).
[222] GRR, book 16: 2 pp. 452-3. The text:
ʿlwʾ ʿlmʾ dlʾ ytbtnʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ytbtnʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ʾtlʾ

[223] GRL book 2: 1 pp. 46-7. The text:
ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ rbʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ tqyp ʾnʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ʾtlʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ʾtlʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ rbʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ

[224] GRL book 2: 3, p. 50: 22. The text:
ʿlmʾ dlʾ ʾtlʾ ʾtlʾ ʾtlʾ

[225] GRL book 2: 3, p. 49: 20. The text:
ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ rbʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ tqyp ʾnʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ʾtlʾ ʾtlʾ bgw ʾtlʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ ʿlmʾ rbʾ ʾnʾ mnʾ

> spot. The King of Darkness, whose strength no one can match, shall be fettered by you.[226]

The Aramaic etymology of *mana* is: "vessel", "utensil", "garment" "clothing", and "instrument". [227] The Mandaean priests give four meanings for the word mana. (*a*) the soul, (*b*) a dove, (*c*) a garment, (*d*) a house.[228] The *Mana* is the instrument in which the *Mana* and his companion hid themselves in order to create the new generation of Life. It appears in plural forms in the following text:

> I bowed to and prostrated myself to my companion, and I received from her the precious *kušṭa*. We entered the *mania* (instrument) and concealed our selves. And she agreed to be my consort.[229]

The second occurrence of *mana* in the plural form *mania* is the Mandaean ceremony *Ahaba ḏ-Mania* (the presentation of garments [a form of *zidaq brika*] for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment - *rasta*).[230]

In ATŠ we read that the *Mana* is the Great Radiance, the translucent heavenly teacher who teaches the Naṣoraeans the sacramental rites (treasures). The messenger Hibil-Ziwa appeals to the Great Mana, the Lord of all worlds, to explain to

---

[226] GRL p. 91: 2f. The sacrifice of the soul or the fall of the sparkle of Light into darkness in order to defeat the evil elements of the world of darkness is a common motif among the Gnostic sects (Jonas 1958: 219). The text:
[illegible]
Cf. Bar Khonai narration of the Manichean version: "The Living Spirit (*rūha hayā*) revealed his forms (*galē ṣūrateh*) to the sons of Darkness; and from the Light which had been swallowed by them from these Five Luminous Gods he purified the light and made the Sun, the Moon and more than a thousand stars" (cited by Stroumsa, 1984 . 155).

[227] MD p. 246, DJPA p. 288. The Iraqis still use ماعون מאעון for a vessel.

[228] MII p. 93 n. 1.

[229] GRR p.399: 10. The text:
[illegible]

[230] MD p. 8 (For more about the ceremony of *Ahaba ḏ-Mania*, see MII p. 214).

him the perfect rites, as without them no healing (*asuta*) of baptism in the Jordan will be bestowed on the Naşoraeans and their robes will be debased and their crowns will fall from their heads.[231]

§ 2.1.4 - ܝܪܕܢܐ *yardina* (Jordan):

Ritual immersion of the Mandaeans requires running or flowing water "rivers" which fits with the aquatic and marshy environment of southern Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans call all rivers and streams "jordans", and the Jordan, in their belief, is a terrestrial river "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains." [232] The Jordan of the pure (white) waters originates from the Great Mana who dwells in Great Ether of Life.[233] The heavenly Jordan is not only the link between the World of Light and the physical world, but also functions as the conduit which pours from the World of Light in order to purify *mia siauia*, the black lifeless waters of the earth.[234] The black waters encircled the circumference of the world remained turbid,[235] until the Great Life ordered the Savior *Manda d-Hiia* to draw a channel of Living water and let fall into the black waters:

> Arise, you, and depart towards the watersheds. And draw a tiny channel of living water and let it fall into the turbid waters and (then the waters)

---

[231] ATŠ p. 142.

[232] MII p. XXV. Segelberg has no "reason to doubt that the word ירדנא Jordan refers to the well known river with same name", but he adds that "Euphrates replaces Jordan occasionally". He also refers to scholars who believe that the Mandaeans are of Western origin, and that they have adopted, besides Jordan, Euphrates as a sacred river since their settlement in Mesopotamia (Segelberg, 1958: 38).

[233] GRR book III p. 84: 5.

[234] For this reason, the Mandaeans consider the *yardina* Jordan (running water) sacred, therefore, no Mandaeans may urinate or spit in a river, nor can it be used to dispose of sewage.

[235] GRR p. 196: 23. The text: ܐܟܝ ܡܝ ܕܣܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܡܝ ܕܙܟܘ ܠܗ ܝܪܕܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ
The Babylonians portrayed the circular earth surrounded by the "Bitter River" (Lambert 1975: 60).

become sweet and the children of man drink it and become like the great Life. [236]

Without the "Living Water" of the *Yardina* (Jordan) purifying the Mandaeans, their *nišmata* 'souls' would remain confined to this world; the World of Darkness, and could never return to the World of Light.[237] The Jordan cleans all faults and the trespasses and is the father of all worlds, celestial, central and lower: it is a medicine transcending all means of healing.[238] The healing powers of "the great Jordan of the First Life, which is all healings" [239] correspond to the magical healing powers of the Jordan, which healed Namaan, the captain of the host of the king of Syria from his leprosy, stated in the Old Testament.[240]

Without the baptism (immersion) in Jordan (running water) one cannot receive the pure sign and therefore he cannot be a Mandaean:

> "In the name of the Life! Let every man whose strength enables him and who loves his soul, come and go down to Jordan and be baptized and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head." [241]

---

[236] GRR p. 322: 2. The text:
[illegible]

[237] "The Christian-Essene called the *Didache* insists on "living water" for baptism, too" (Welburn, 1991: 195).
[238] ATŠ p. 150 (Mandaean p. 38). The text:
[illegible]
The Babylonian cosmology is also based on three levels, as mentioned in the epic of Atrahasis: Anu in Heaven, Enlil on the earth, and Ea in the Apsu (Lambert 1975: 57).
[239] CP p. 12. Mandaean Masbuta hymn No 18, p. 58. The text:
[illegible]
[240] Kings II 5-16. Lady Drower does not believe that *yardina* (Jordan) has any connection with the river Jordan in Palestine, and that the Mandaeans call all rivers by Ardana or Ardan (MII n. 4 p. xxiv). On the other hand, Pallis insists that *yardina* Jordan cannot be translated as 'the river' since *yardina* Jordan is always a proper name in Mandaic literature (Pallis, 1926: 24).
[241] CP p. 13. Mandaean Maṣbuta (Baptism) p. 60. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

Mandaean *maṣbuta* (baptism) in the *yardina ḏ-mia hiia* 'the Jordan of Living Water' is the unification with the World of Light. According to the Mandaeans, the baptism which takes place in the earthly world is a replica of the heavenly baptism carried out by the beings of Light. It was performed to purify Hibil-Ziwa in the heavenly *yardina* (Jordan) from the pollution with which he was polluted during his journey to the underworld. [242]

Baptism protects the Mandaean against evil and seals him physically and spiritually by the seal of Life: 'These souls who are descending to the Jordan will be sealed by the seal of the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life." [243] The running water is not only for healing the body and purifying the souls, but also "the symbol of the fertilizing male principle" in the Mandaean literature, e.g. Earth is "the Mother" and Rain or River "the Father".[244]

> For Jordan is a *baba* (father) and the Earth a mother whose name is (*mamma*) [245]

Stroumsa writes: "Gnostic water imagery made use of biblical themes: 'The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse' [*Testim. Truth* 31:1-3]."[246] This phrase is quite compatible with the Mandaean imagery, where the Mandaean

---

[242] For more details concerning this baptism, see DMHZ (the Scroll of the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa) p. 28.

[243] CP. p. 11. The text:

ܥܡܡܐ ܥܡܡܐ ܥܡ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܕܡܫܘܝ ܕܡܟܦܝ

The Iraqis believed, from the ancient times, in the seals of the great names to protect them from evil. The most famous is the Seal of King Solomon which contains the magic names that gave him the power over the djinn, birds and wind (See Dawkins J., "The Seal of Solomon", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943) pp. 145-150 esp. p. 145.).

[244] ATŠ, "the Male Mystery" p. 122. Cf. the Sumerian myth of creation as *An* (heavens) represents the male and *Ki* (earth) is the womb '. . . An impregnated the verdant earth (*Ki*) and she bore him one unafraid of the warrior *Ninurta* (Jacobson, 1976: 95).

[245] ATŠ p. 176.

[246] Stroumsa 1984: 122.

literature credits the origin of the sexual desire to the Living Water and to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa:

> I went towards two legally joined persons. I came and opened living waters and gave to the pair of this world to drink. I opened living water and gave of them to the bridal pair of this world to drink. I sowed in them pregnancy and birth and with sexual desire I enflamed them and caused love to dwell in both of them.[247]

It is interesting to note that Marcionites (a heretical sect founded in C.E. 144 at Rome by Marcion) had launched a surprising attack upon John and the baptism in the Jordan and called him: "Archon of the multitude":

> "The river of Jordan, this, to him, is the strength of the body – that is, the essence of pleasure; and the water of Jordan is the desire for carnal co-habitation." As for John, he is "the archon of the multitude" [248]

According to the Mandaean manuscript ࡄࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡕࡀ *haran gawaita* 'Inner Haran', John the Baptist (*iahiah yuhana*) was born when his old barren mother ࡏࡍࡉࡔࡁࡀࡉ *'enišbai* 'Elizabeth' became pregnant with him when she drank a sip from the Jordan. As a result the seed of John was sown in her womb:

> ". . . in Tamar [249], the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth. And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed . . . and came and was

---

[247] CP. p. 182. Mandean p. 231-2. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[248] Doresse, 1960: 220. In this concern Jonas writes: "This is entirely unique. Could it be a retort to the Mandaeans – the other side of the bitter quarrel of which we have the Mandean side in their writings? The account is too sketchy to permit more than the suggestion of this tempting possibility" (Jonas, H., JR, 1962: 265).

[249] Tamar (a small town named Thamara was situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea). The story of the miraculous birth is also written in the BJ 18 74: 5 where we read: 'They have taken a child from the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of *'nšbai* (Elisabeth)" [illegible]

sown in the womb of 'Nišbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory." [250]

It seems that the Mandaeans follow the Sumerians, who did not always differentiate between "'semen" and "water"; the same word can stand for both. It is Enki who fecundates and produces productivity: "O Father Enki, go forth out of the seeded country, and may it sprout good seed!"[251] To the above Sumerian concept of fertility we find striking parallels in Mandaean literature:

> For Earth called Jordan (living water) "My father" when its mysteries fell into her. And she cried aloud to Jordan "Do not penetrate me" and said to it "Answer me, my father, answer me" and "Raise me up, (O) great Son of the Great One, father of a son of Life! Answer me, *Šilmai* and *Nidbai*, lords of the Jordan". [252]

The Mandaeans consider the Living Water, which originates in the world of Light, is the Life itself which flows from the House of Life in which Mandaeans lustrate their bodies and souls:

> In the name of the Life! Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth form the House of Life. (At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed.[253]

---

[250] HG p. 5. The Mandaean manuscript line no. 18. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:

[251] Jacobson, 1976: 111.

[252] [the earth cries out like a virgin fearing loss of virginity] ATŠ, p. 173. Mandaean p. 49. The text:

[253] CP p. 33 (the Mmasiqta p. 120). Drower's translation, text collated:

Albright finds in the above Mandaean hymn a striking resemblance to the Assyrian *egubbû* incantations: "In the name of life! Ye are the living waters, which have come from a wide place,

Lady Drower states, 'Today the word *yardina* (Jordan) is applied not only to running water used in baptism and immersion, but to any flowing stream; yet the conjunction of John the Baptist and the Jordan is significant. [254]

§2.1.5 - ʃkina (celestial dwelling):

ʃkinata has its usual ambiguity as the other Gnostic Mandaean terms. In creation it is meant to be the celestial dwelling, but it is also used as the cult-hut in which the Mandaean rites take place. The *škinata* or *'ndruna* is a booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses.[255] It is where the priest sits and from which he performs his duties like the marriage ceremony. The worldly *škina* used in the rituals is a reproduction of the *škina* of the World of Light. It is through the *škina* that Mandaeans can experience the Divine Godhead.

The ʃkinata (celestial dwellings)[256] are the product of the first emanation and they became the celestial abode of the Mandaean deities; "the Life", the Mana and their *uthras*. The *škina* was founded by the Life above the *tanna* in the great Jordan "Piriawis":

> Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life, which all healings is afire like the glory flaming in the ʃna *tanna* (matrix?). When Life was

---

carrying death away form the house of life. O living waters from the house of life, let the good come and be well, but let the bad be shattered (like a pot)" (Albright, AJSL 1919 pp. 161-195, esp p. 186).

[254] SA p. xiv.

[255] For the details of the construction of the *škinta* by the Mandaean priests see MII pp. 152-3.

[256] Cf. שכינה The biblical Hebrew word for Tabernacle *mišcan*, is used in the sense of dwelling-place in OT, Psalm 132:5 "Before I find a place for God, *mishcanot* (dwelling-places) for the Strong One of Israel" (עד אמצא מקום ליהוה משכנות לאביר יעקב). In Talmudic literature, the *Shekhinah* is God himself (Sholem G., 1962: 163). Quispel believes that there is a close connection between the *Shekhinah* in Jewish Mysticism and the Mandaean concept of *Adam Qadamaia* "the primordial Man" (Quispel G., "Ezekiel 1: 26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis", *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (Mar. 1980), pp. 1- 13, esp. p. 3).

ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flamed therein, Life arose and founded its *škina* above the *tanna*.[257]

Enormous and countless myriads of *škinas* came forth from the fusion of the Great Mana with the Pira.[258] The *škinas*, with their illuminating light and magnificent radiance, are the symbol of the Divine might and glory:

> Then the Lord of Greatness *Mara-d̠-Rabuta* stood and created four hundred and forty four *škinas* to his right, and three hundred and sixty *škinas* to his left. Then, he created from every *škina* one thousand and eight hundred thousand myriad *ruban* precious and sublime uthras. Their radiance is magnificent and their light is illuminating. Their precious illumination lights up the Lamps that shine before them. Two guards are posted upon every single *škina* and two lamps are lit in front of them.[259]

The *škina*, just like the other Mandaean elements of creation, is enclosed with mystery which no one can comprehend its entity:

> He is the *Kušṭa* (Truth) who lives in upper heights, the Lord of Greatness, Lord of all mighty beings.[260] There is no one to define and express his force and all his worlds and his *škinas*, in which the *uthras* and *melki* "kings" dwell.[261]

---

257 CP 18 p. 12. (MŞ hymn 18 p. 58). Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

258 GRR p. 84: 2.

259 GRR book 4 p. 151: 13. The text:
[illegible]

260 Cf. (9) Adonai is the attribute [*Middah*] of mercy and Elohim is the attribute (10) of justice Truth is the place of the *Shekinah* who establishes (11) all creatures [Lit. "who enter the world"] in truth. And when he sits (12) on the throne of judgement righteousness stands at his right and mercy (13) stands at his left and truth stands before him . . .' (Peter Schäfer, *Geniza Fragmente zur Hekhalot Literature*, Tübingen, 1984, pp. 132-4, cited by Deutsch, 1999: 41).

261 GRR p. 4: 6. The text:

The celestial *Škinas* developed from the First Mystic *Škina*:

> Praised is that great mystic *škina* and praised the three hundred and sixty *škinas* which proceeded from that first great mystic *škina*.[262]

From these mystical dwellings (or: sanctuaries) of the high beings, mystic sprouts came into being:

> The proven, pure one spoke saying to the Great One: "If it pleases you, Great One, if it pleases you Great Ones, a world of light has been made Created is a world of light and a company has been established therein, *Škinas* have been set up therein. It will be bright in your praise, in your praise it will shine, and will be blessed with your blessing. Mystic sprouts (offspring) will come into being and at your word they will flourish, they will flourish at your word and sprouts that are worthy will be raised up."[263]

In another hymn, the *Škina* appears to be the "divine abode" in which the Great Mana "cocooned" himself before revealing himself to the worlds. The idea appears to be that the Great Mana has its period of quiescence, ceasing to be. [264] He became manifest only when He was fully developed in his *Škina*:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own *Škina* – for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save

---

[262] CP p. 155. (Mandaic Hymn n. 171.) Drower's translation, text collated:

[263] CP p. 187. (=Mandaic CP Hymn n 234 p. 245) Drower's translation, text collated:

[264] CP, n. 4 p. 188.

that great, secret, First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.[265]

The *škinta* which is constructed by the Mandaean priests in the Bit Manda (The House of Mandaeans or: Mandaean Temple) is the reflection of the heavenly *škina* in which all beings of Light dwell. In the process of consecration of a *ašualia* (a Mandaean novice for priesthood), has to enter a newly-built ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ *škinta* (a cult hut), and the ࡏࡍࡃࡓࡅࡍࡀ *'ndruna* (booth constructed for ritual purposes such as marriage and initiation) which symbolizes his former lay status is pulled down. The earthly *škinta*, with the Mandaean priests sitting in it practicing their rituals, symbolizes a particular realm within the divine world. It is the Mandaean sacred and pure dwelling, in the earth Tibil, which belongs to the World of Light:

> Praised be that great occult First *škinta* (abode) because it is Mine. Praised be the three hundred and sixty *škinata* (abodes), the three hundred and sixty worlds, ours, because they are worlds of light amongst which all mysteries are shared out – they emanated from the supreme and Celestial World.[266]

The *škinata* are the celestial dwellings for the countless battalions of *'uthras*; the "warriors" of the realm of Light. These *škinata* are hidden from men in the World of Light.[267]

---

[265] CP p. 36 *masiqta* (Ascension) p. 130. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[266] ATŠ, pp. 111,112. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[267] *Cf.* the world of Merkabah could be designated as the place "of his Shekhinah hidden from men in the highest heights" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164, quoted from the Targum to Habakkuk 3: 4).

> Praised be all the mighty and lofty world of light; praised be all those *škinata* "sanctuaries" of the Hidden for in each and every *škinta* sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, (*'uthras*) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.[268]

The earthly *škinta* is an oblong and with a pent-roof reed hut plastered with washed clay. When the *škinta* is constructed (always constructed nearby a stream of running water), seven priests are gathered together and recite the devotion prayers (*rahmia*). During this ceremony, the holy books are set in and the banners are unfurled.[269] The *škinta* is purified every year at the festival of the five days of creation (*Paruaniia*).[270] After its purification and consecration only priests are allowed to enter.[271] "In the *škinta* the *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) lives for seven days and nights, leaving it only to relieve himself." [272] The *Rba* (teacher) takes his novice by the right hand and leads him to the *škinta*:

> And grasp thy *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) with thy right hand and come to thy *škinta*, in which priests and laymen will be sitting. Say to them "Peace upon you, my brethren, priests and laymen of the

---

[268] CP, p. 50; Mandaean text no. 58. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
In respect to the large numbers of celestial being and dwellings Scholem writes: "This pluralistic generalization, which of course no longer permits the equation of the Shekhinah with the supreme God, appears to have been self-evident among the Mandaeans, whose literature overflows with references to myriads of worlds, *uthras* (treasure houses of riches) and shekhinoth, though we never learn precisely what it is they represent" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164).

[269] Segelberg, 1976: 184.

[270] Paruaniia: the five intercalary days, called colloquially *panja* (MD p. 363).

[271] Lady Drower noted, "I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dungin's *Rituels Accadiens*, with resemblances between the *taraṣa ḏ mandi* (*mandi* = Mandaean cult-hut) and the Akkadian rites for the re-consecration of a temple after pollution, earthquake, or violation"(MII n. 4 p. 142).

[272] Drower, 1962: XIV.

škinta!" And those crowns which thou intendest to distribute amongst the priests of the *škinta* shall be (held) in they hand.[273]

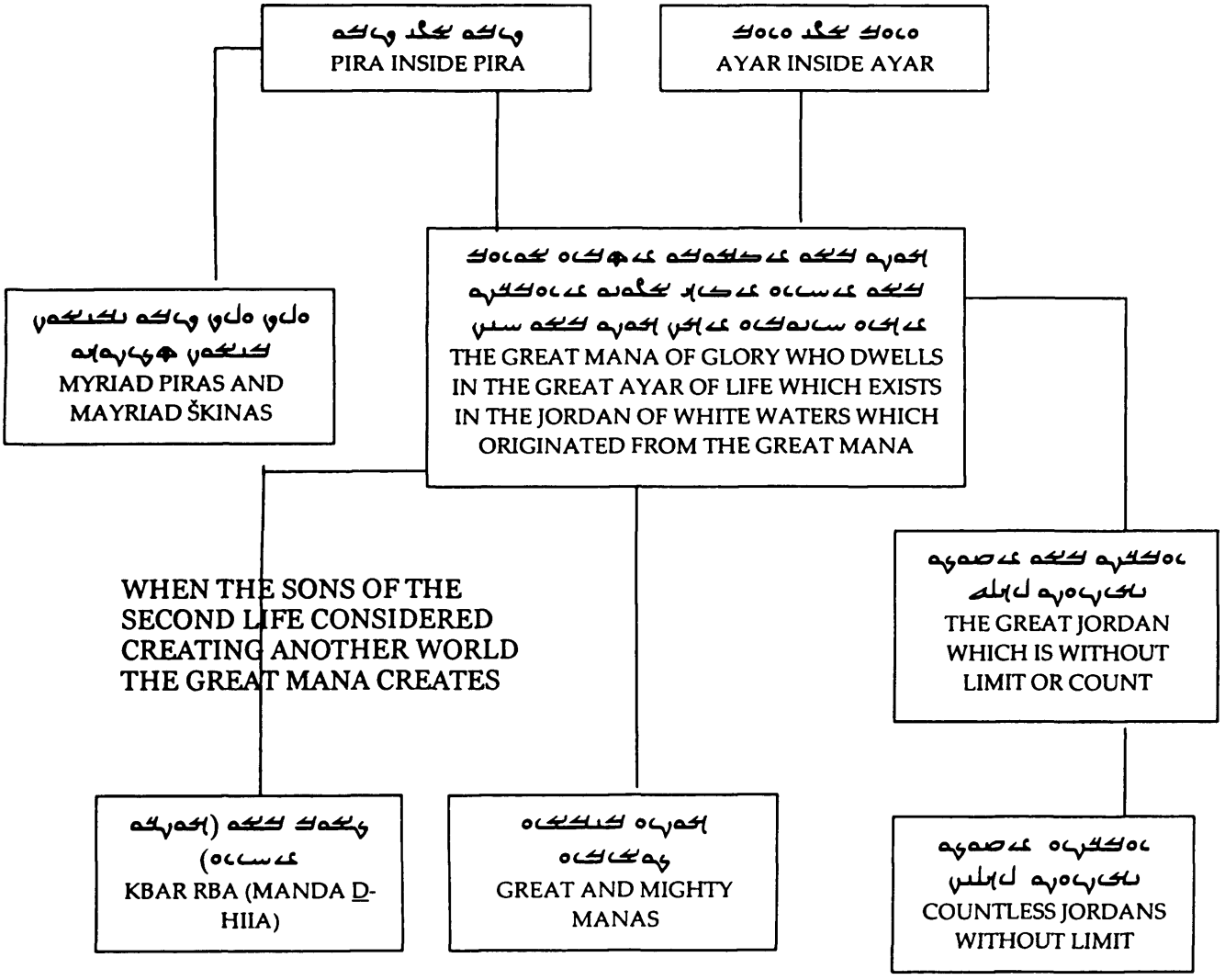
In the *škinta*, the *šualia* (novice) receives his mystic knowledge from his *Rba* (teacher). During these seven days and seven nights of the novice's solitude in the *škinta*, he and his master, observe the strictest rules of purity. The main purpose of the earthly *škinta* is the consecration of a new priest and performing the *masiqta* (ascension) rituals. Lady Drower believes that Mandaean *škinta* is related to 'the sanctuary of a Nestorian church,'[274] while, in the Talmudic conception, the *Shekhinah* represents God's dwelling and glory in the created world.[275]

---

[273] ATŠ II [422] p. 286. (Mandaic p. 105). The text:
ⴰⵛⵍⵄ ⵍⵍⵅⵄⵅ ⵓⵛⵔⵄⵛ ⵙⵄⵅⵄ ⵓⵛⵛⵅⵄⵅ ⵓⵛⵛⵅⵅⵄⵔ ⵇⵄⵅⵔⵇⵄ ⵄⵍⵄ ⵇⵄⵅⵔⵄⵛ ⵇⵓⵍⵄⵄⵇⵄ ⵙⵙⵍⵍ
ⵔⵔⵍⵄⵇⵄⵅ ⵔⵛⵛⵄⵔ ⵔⵔⵍⵄ ⵇⵄⵅⵇⵄ ⵓⵛⵍⵄ ⵔⵔⵍⵄⵄⵍ ⵄⵅⵔⵇⵄ ⵓⵛⵛⵅⵄⵅ ⵓⵛⵛⵅⵅⵄⵔ ⵍⵄⵍⵄ ⵔⵔⵍⵄ
ⵄⵅⵔⵇⵄ ⵓⵛⵛⵅⵅⵄⵔ ⵍⵄ

[274] Drower 1962: XIII.
[275] For the *Shekhinah* as the divine power between light and darkness, see Wolfson, "Light through Darkness", *Harvard Theological Review*, Vo. 81, No. 1. (Jan. 1988), pp. 73-95 esp. p. 85.

TEXT 1
GINZA RABA
PAGE 83-4
Chart (A)



§ 2. 2. - The Second Account of the Theogony

§ 2. 2 - The Second Account of the Theogony:

In the second account of theogonay (GRR book III p. 84: 14 ff) In addition to the previous Gnostic terms, mentioned in the first version of creation, we come across new terms in the second version; *yura* (radiance), *hiia tiniania* (the Second life) and *hapiqia mia* (the streams of water). Some of these terms are peculiar and difficult to understand and *Yura* is one of them. The main events in this account are: (a) The creation of the *yardina rba* "Great Jordan" (b) The Life is born from the great Jordan (c) The Life addresses Itself (or: Himself) with a request and begets the Second Life (d) The Second Life calls forth *uthras* and sets up *škinas* and creates his own Jordan (e) Three *uthras* come into being and address a request to the Second Life to grant them permission to raise *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them:

> When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the *Ayar* (ether) was still in the *Ayar*, and when the great ܝܘܪܐ *Yura* (Radiance), whose ܙܝܘܐ *ziwa* radiance and ܢܗܘܪܐ *nhūra* light are so vast and extensive, before which no one existed, and from which the great Jordan of living water came into being. The water flowed to the earth of ether on which the Life sat, and the Life presented himself in the likeness of the great Mana, from which he came into being, and the Life addressed himself with a request. By the first request an eternal *uthra* came into being, whom the Life called ܚܝܐ ܬܢܝܢܝܐ *hiia tiniania* 'the Second Life'. Countless and endless ܐܬܪܐ *uthras* also came into being. From the Life a Jordan ܝܪܕܢܐ *yardina* came into being, which like the first Jordan flowed into the earth of light, and the Second Life stood (or: baptized) in it. And that Second Life called forth *uthras* and set up ܫܟܝܢܐ *škinas* and called forth a Jordan, in which the *uthras* were set up (or was baptized).

Three *uthras* came into being, who addressed a request to the Second Life; they were then allowed to produce *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them. They consulted together and produced *škinas*. They petitioned and spoke to their father; they asked their father and said to him: "Are you the one who created this Jordan of living water, which is so marvelous and whose aroma is so fragrant, and the *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it and which are so great, and are they your *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it?" The Second Life replied, speaking to the three *uthras*: "As for me, your father, the Life created me, and the Jordan belongs to the Life, and you are brought into being by the power of the Life.' Then they spoke to him: 'Give us of your radiance and your light and of that which surrounds you and we shall depart and go below the streams of water ܗܦܝܩܝܐ ܡܝܐ *hapiqia mia*, call forth *škinas* for you, establish a world for you, and may the world belong to us and to you." (Chart II)

§ 2. 2. 1 - ܝܘܪܐ *Yura*:

Yura is one of the beings of Light in the Mandaean theogony, but the Mandaean writings do not provide us with sufficient account of him. The Mandaic Dictionary defines him as: Iur, iura (< יוהרא) light, brilliance, being of light.[276] He is a spirit of light and, the treasurer who lives with his ܕܡܘܬܗ *dmuta* (counterpart) in their *škina*. *Yura* or *Yur* describes himself:

I am *Yur* son of thou-art-bright". [277] "I am *Yur* son of *Barit* (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The *tanna* (vapour or: matrix) dissolved and a *škinta* came into being, a *škinta* came into existence and was established in the House of Life.[278]

---

[276] In Arabic جوهر *jauhar* gems or jewels.

[277] ATŠ p. 281 and n. 6. ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܝܘܪ ܒܪ ܒܪܝܬ *ana hu yur br barit* Mandaean ATŠ p. 102 q. 392.

[278] CP p. 9 Hymn n. 12 (Mş no. 12 p. 48). The text:

Due to the paucity of Mandaean writings concerning *Yura Rba*, we can not determine his real purpose. The Ginza describes him as ganzibra *Ganzibra* bears dual definitions: a 'Treasurer' and also the title for a Mandaean (bishop) which the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest):

> Instruct them concerning Sidar-Kasia-Anana
> inside which the Treasurer, *Yur Rba*, is concealed. [279]

The following warning which is written in the Ginza and directed to perverse *Naşoraeans* (Mandaeans) confirms the role of *yura* as a treasurer:

> The secret treasure will be taken away from them (from the impious Naşoreans) and will be handed over to *Yura Rba*, the treasurer. He (the impious Naşorean) will be removed from Light and will burn in the lower hell. [280]

The Ginza also tells us that *yura rba*, like the other spirits of light, has a *dmuta* (counterpart) who lives with him:

> They provided him with hidden words, so sublime and transcendent to the world. They instructed him concerning *Yura Rba* and his magnificent *dmuta* (counterpart) who (cohabits) with him. [281]

In one of the prayers, *Yur Rba* is invoked as a redeemer. Here he is described not only as the *ganzibra* (treasurer) but also as "king of worlds of light":

---

[279] GRR book 17: 1, p. 465: 3. The text:

[280] GRR book 15, p. 392: 11. The text:

[281] GRR book 15: 7, p. 393: 7. The text:

> O Yawar Rba, Yur Rba, Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my errors.[282]

Other Mandaean writings call him mystic. In the following hymn *yura* is classified with *šalmai* and *nadbai*, the great guardians of the Mandaeans' sacred rivers:

> You will behold the great mystic *Yura* whom they planted. You will see *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud they dwell and put in charge of all jordans. [283]

Finally Lady Drower states, "As *Yura* is unusual as a form of *Yur* it is tempting to consider יורה "the first rain", "spring, "early season". [284]

§ 2. 2. 2 - ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* The Life:

The Life is the supreme deity in the Mandaean belief. He is usually described as *nukraiia* "alien", "remote", "ineffable" since nobody has ever seen His brilliance and glory ࡃࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡄ ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡄ <u>d</u>-'*niš ldmut<u>h</u> lahzh lziu<u>h</u> u'qar<u>h</u>* [285]. He is the source of all existence both seen and unseen; He is the creative force that came into came into existence before the existence:[286]

> Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One [Alien] from world of light, Supreme being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth [*kušṭa*] which was of old in the Beginning. [287]

---

[282] CP p. 156. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[283] CP p. 304. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible]

[284] CP n. 5 p. 183.

[285] CP p. 40. Mandaean *Masiqta* (Ascension) hymn No. 43 p. 138.

[286] SA p. 1.

[287] CP p. 40. Drower's translation, text collated:

The Life originated from the land of Light and the water came into being from the Life. From the water radiance emanated, and from radiance light emanated, and from the light *uthras* came into being:

> The Life knows that life came into being on the land of Light and from the Life, the water came into being, and from the water, the radiance came into being, and from the radiance, the light, and from the light, the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[288]

"The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of Life is the "living water" *yardina* "Jordan." [289]

The World of Light came into existence through a series of emanations form the First Life.[290] As soon as the First Life ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ *hiia qadmaiia* arose from his *škina* he created three hundred and sixty Jordans and appointed two guards upon each of them . . . then he created three hundred and sixty worlds of Light. [291]

The First Life was the first "Creator" in the World of Light when he addressed himself with a request and brought the Second Life (Yōšamin) into being.[292] In

---

ܐܡܪ ܒܗܝ ܕܚܝ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܙܝܘܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܘܬܪܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ ܘܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܚܝܐ

[288] GRR 15: 20 p.442: 11. The text:
ܐܡܪ ܒܗܝ ܕܚܝ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܙܝܘܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܘܬܪܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܚܝܐ ܕܩܝܡ ܘܫܒܚ ܠܚܝܐ

[289] MII, p. xxi.

[290] Rudolph, 1983: 357.

[291] GRR pp. 354, 5. The text:
ܐܡܪ ܒܗܝ ܕܚܝ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܙܝܘܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܘܬܪܐ ... ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܫܡ ܝܘܫܡܝܢ ܕܩܝܡ ܘܫܒܚ ܠܚܝܐ

[292] GRR p. 84: 20. Cf. the concept of the Barbelo (The Barbeliotes were "Gnostic" sect that lived in Egypt and mentioned by Epiphanius) when he asked the first *Ennoia* (thought) to give him/her a "First Knowledge": after he granted it, the First Knowledge became manifest and

another fragment of the Ginza we read that the First Life declared to the great supreme Mana that he thought carefully and created a son. The Mana asked the Life to clothe the son with the attire of radiance and to cover his head with turban of light:

> The First Life bowed in worship and praised that great supreme Mana and said to him, "I thought and created one son; the unique great righteous one, who came to being from the unique great righteous one." He (the great supreme Mana) said to Him (to the First Life), "Go, dress him with the attire of radiance and cover his (head) with the good pure turban of light." [293]

The "First Life" is the main Mandaean revealed deity who is entitled of worship.[294] He participates in the positive aspect alone: it is *nukraiia* "beyond", *alauia kulhun ubadia* "above all creation", *balma dnhūra* "in the world of light".[295] In baptism every Mandaean must receive the Pure Sign ܪܫܡܐ ܕܟܝܐ *rušma dakia*; the Sign of Life ܪܫܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ *rušma d-hiia*. Most of the Mandaean hymns and prayers open and end with the following formulae: ܒܫܡܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܪܒܐ *bšumaihun d hiia rabia* "In the name of the Great Life", ܚܝܐ ܙܟܝ *hiia zakin* "Life is victorious".

The "Living Water" flows form the "House of Life" which is the habitation of the highest deity along with his heavenly host of the *uthras*. [296] The House of Life is

---

the "Son" was born from the *Ennoia's* contemplation of the Father (Jonas 1958: 199-200. See also Rudolph 1983: 77, 80).

[293] GRR 279: 21f. The text:
ܐܝܟ ܫܡܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܫܓܝܪ ܐܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܘܒܪܝ ܚܕ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܕܟܝ ܒܪ ܕܟܝ ܐܬܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܙܠ ܠܒܫ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܘܟܣܐ ܠܪܫܗ ܒܟܠܝܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܘܛܒ

[294] Yamauchi 1967: 39.

[295] Jonas, 1958: 50.

[296] MII p. 95. The House of Life is parallel to the Pleroma in the Gnostic motif. Widengren noted, 'The chief temple of the town, *Esagila*, is called *bīt balāṭi* "the House of Life" (Widengren 1949: 26).

the place where the souls of the Mandaeans' ancestors dwell, [297] and the names of the *uthras* are kept:

> They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode . . . 'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life. [298]

The Mandaean adaptation of Life as their main deity is derived from their own habitat in southern Iraq. The quest for life is a major theme in the Epic of Gilgamesh and of Mesopotamian incantations.[299] The ritual customs of the Mandaeans, as well as in the ancient Mesopotamian religion, are influenced by the idea of 'life' and how to reach the House of Life in order to gain eternal life. [300]

§ 2. 2. 3 - The Second Life ܚܝܐ ܬܢܝܢܝܐ *hiia tiniania* (Yōšamin):

The Second Life [301], also known by his personal name Yōšamin,[302] is the First Son of *Hiia Qadmaiia* the First Life who begot him through a "self-division" or "self-produced emanation" and not creation (for this would compromise its perfection).[303]

> The Life addressed a request to Itself (Himself). By the first request an eternal (or: fast-grounded) uthra came into being, whom the Life

---

[297] PC. P. 303.
[298] Ibid 87, Mandaean text pp. 243, 244. Drower's translation, text collated:
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܟܣܐ ܘܫܪܐ ܒܗ ܠܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܢܨܚܐ ܘܕܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܘ . . . ܐܬܪ ܕܚܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܬܢܝܢܝܐ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ

[299] Jacobsen 1976: 213-4.
[300] Widengren 1949: 29.
[301] Book III of the Ginza (the subject of the research) does not mention Yōšamin as the other epithet of the Second Life. Yōšamin is mentioned in the rest of the Ginza. Albright believes that Yōšamin stands for Ba'al-šamîn (older Ba'al-šamēn) (Albright W. F., "The Canaanite God Haurōn (Hōrōn)", AJSL 53, 1936: 11, 12).
[302] *iušamin* (comp. with iu-, a transformation of H.יהושמין Kessler PRE xii 168, taking the place of the Aram. בעלשמין Jb ii pp. xxiii: 15 ff. AF 242) name of a demiurge, a mediator between good and evil ML, 281, MII 224 n. 8, Jb ii pp. xxii ff. MD, P. 191).
[303] Deutsch 1999: 138.

called the Second Life, also uthras without limit or count came into being. [304]

The Second Life played the most important role in the creation of the semi-physical world (the world which is located beneath the World of Light). As soon as he came into existence, the Second Life became obsessed with the thought of creation[305]. He incurred the great schism in the World of Light when he allowed the three *uthras* (his sons, especially Abatur) to go down below ܗܝܟ ܗܘ ܣܝ *hapiqia mia* the "streams of water" (the waters that separate the world of light from the world of darkness) and create their own world and ignore the name of the Life.[306]

The Second Life's creation of a new world was considered by the World of Light as an evil act of rebellion which "instigated the Great Controversy, never to be resolved in all eternity"[307]. Yōšamin "revealed the secret of the Great Ones" and threw controversy into the Light.[308]. The Mandaean faith dictates that the world (which was created by Yōšamin) is the source of all evils and all errors and deficiency is the product of a "divine tragedy" caused by Yōšamin.[309] Some Mandaean writings

---

[304] GRR 84: 20. Cf. the Syriac writer Theodore Bar Konai's (8th/9th Century C.E.) story about a certain Battai whose doctrine dictates: 'Before the beginning of all things, there had been divinity who divided himself into two and from whom the Good and Evil came to be, the Good gathered-together the lights, and the Evil the darkness. Then the Evil gained understanding, and rose to make war upon the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness pronounced a word, from which were borne seven powers. But seven demons set themselves up against the Lord God and against the Powers he had engendered: after having shackled these adversaries, they stole from the Father of Greatness the principle of the soul (Doresse, 1960: 60).

[305] GRR Book III p. 96: 4 ܒܝܪܐ ܐܬܒܝܪ ܒܪܝܬܐ "the pregnant became pregnant with the second".

[306] GRR book III p. 85: 14 f. The move of the Second Life 'Yōšamin' was encountered by the creation of the messenger/redeemer Manda d-Hiia "Gnosis of Life" (§2.2.7), by the higher deities as we shall see in GGR p. 85: 24 f. Cf. the second series of gods who pleaded their Father for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, according to the Manichaean system (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15). For more about *hapiqia mia* see §2.2.4.

[307] DY (Mandaean manuscript) pp. 4, 5 (= Lidzbarski's Mandaean manuscript p. 5: 3). The text:

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܟܬܫ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܝܘܡܐ

[308] Ibid p. 7. The text:

ܒܟܠ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܠܟ ܝܘܡܐ

[309] Rudolph, 1983: 69.

recount that all error and deficiency originated when Yōšamin came into existence and it is he who caused the 'discord' in the World of Light.[310] For his insolence, the Second Life was cast down from his throne and was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it:

> "Yōšamin was cast down because he wanted to instigate a fight and throw controversy into the House of the Great Ones. He imagined evil; therefore he was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it."[311]

In *draša d-yahia* (the Book of John or the Book of Kings) we read that a great 'angelic' war took place in the World of Light between the forces of the Life on the one hand and Yōšamin and his allies on the other. Yōšamin lost the war; his sons were killed in the resistance, and his wives went around in mourning. His *yardinia* (Jordans) were disturbed and his *škinas* were removed out of their place. They destroyed his dwellings and his buildings, and his throne was placed at the gates of Supat (underworld).[312]

After the tragedy Yōšamin came back to his senses; he repented and asked to be baptized and the name of the Life to be placed upon him:

> "I want acknowledge by your baptism and your name to be expressed and placed upon me."[313]

The Great Life was pleased with this result and restored Yōšamin's status. The World of Light promised Yōšamin to restore his *škinas* and buildings and to bring

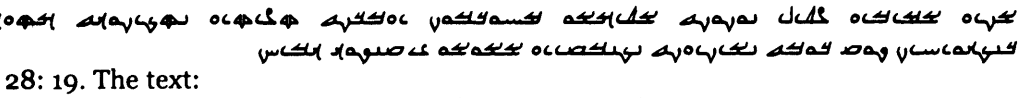
---

[310] ARR 47.

[311] DY, pp. 7, 8. The text:



[312] DY, p. 28. The text:



[313] Ibid p. 28: 19. The text:



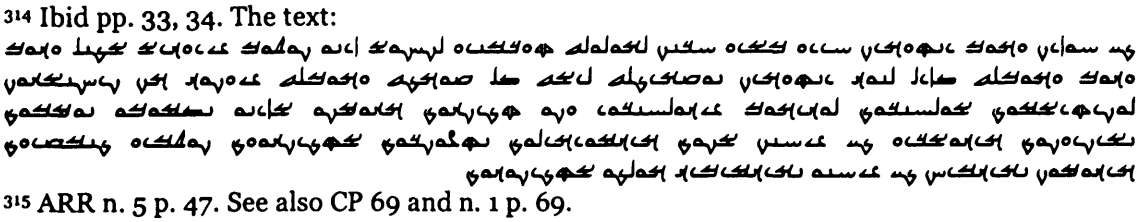
back his sons to him alive and to appoint messengers and guards in his domain. His throne to be erected firmly and he is to be called the King of the *Škina*:

> As Yōšamin said this, the Great Life was pleased about his speech. He spoke to Nṣab-Ziwa, the guard, who sits everywhere. He said to him, "Go to Yōšamin and sustain his heart by your support. Tell him, "You are of our planting; we will not leave you alone. Your *škina* is well established in radiance and glory, and your stronghold and your building are to be recreated as they were. Your children are to be brought back to you alive and you are to be served by your messengers as guards in your realm. Your throne is to be erected firmly, as it was, and you are to be called a king in your *škina*". [314]

On the other hand, the Second Life "Yōšamin" is considered by the Mandaeans as the "archetype of a priest careless in rituals".[315] Yōšamin is the neglectful priest in the World of Light.[316] ATŠ directs a clear warning to the priest who does not perform the rite perfectly: "Nevertheless, exhort him (the priest) and warn him against performing rites as Yōšamin performed them." [317] In this connection Deutsch writes:

> The interplay between human and angelic priests also plays an important role in the Mandaean rehabilitation of fallen *uthras* such as Yōšamin, Abatur and Ptahil. According to Kurt Rudolph, at a certain point in the history of the Mandaean religion, the priestly class empowered itself and transformed what was originally a radically dualist theology into a more monistic, ritualistic system in which human priests played a greater role. An important part of this social

---

[314] Ibid pp. 33, 34. The text:


[315] ARR n. 5 p. 47. See also CP 69 and n. 1 p. 69.
[316] SA p. 60.
[317] ATŠ [415] p. 285.

> and theological transformation was the rehabilitation of fallen, cosmic priests such as Abatur, who were re-created in the image of the newly empowered human priests. [318]

Yōšamin and his sons Abatur and Ptahil resemble, in a way, the sinning angels of I Enoch 6-11.[319] Deutsch explains:

> The connection between the Mandaean uthras and the fallen angels is primarily, but not solely, based on their common fall from grace following an act of rebellion. Another important but less obvious parallel between the two sets of figures in that both are related to the image of a polluted priesthood. We have already seen that Yōšamin, Abatur, and Ptahil were characterized as heavenly priests who corrupted themselves by rebelling against the Great Life. [320]

In Mandaean prayer Yōšamin is the strength which guides the waters to the sea. [321] He is also mentioned in marriage songs as a light-spirit of abundance and fertility.[322] The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life is anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any *uthra* by six thousand myriad years. [323] He is the pure one who abides on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. [324]

In some Mandaean writings Yōšamin is called the peacock:

---

[318] Deustch 1999: 143.
[319] For more about the falling angels, see Hanson "Rebellion in Heaven", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (Jun., 1977), pp. 195-233; Nichelsburg G. W., "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 3. (Sep. 1977), pp. 383-405, and S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11* (AOAT 322, Münster, 2005), 29ff.
[320] Deutsch 1999: 130.
[321] ATŠ [236] p. 171.
[322] ŠQŠR pp. 67, 104.
[323] CP, p. 1.
[324] Ibid p. 7.

Do not give them confused admonition such as Ham-Ziwa gave to Yōšamin the Peacock. He cautioned and directed as he (Yōšamin) was setting the crown on his brother Abathur in that land which is the House Glorious, that land which is beauteous and fair.'[325]
Also: 'Woe is me, the Peacock, whose foolishness is larger than his virtue.[326]

Yōšamin was pardoned by the Life and was re-enthroned in the World of Light. He is mentioned in the prayers of forgiveness: 'For our forefathers there shall be forgiveness. For Yōšamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins.[327]

§ 2. 2. 4 - ههاه هاهاسو *hapiqia mia*:

ههاه هاهاسو *hapiqia mia,* form the water frontier of the world of Light. This is the name given to the river of departure, which the souls have to cross in the ships: *mṭit hap'qia mia hu şurik ziwa alapania uhpiqia mia abran* "When I (the soul) reached the streams (or: springs) of water, ههاه صهاهاو *surik ziwa* (the Burst of Radiance) came to meet me and led me across the streams (or: brooks) of water."[328] These ships, which transport the souls of the righteous across *hapiqia mia*, are illustrated in the drawings of the Mandaean scroll *Diwan Abatur*.[329] The steams (or: springs) or water *hapiqia mia* are of fresh water and flow from the realm of Yōšamin (the Second Life), the Middle World. The Sumerian and Babylonians likewise,

---

[325] ATŠ [418] p. 286.
[326] DY (*draša d-yahia* Lidzbarski's manuscript) Chapter 75, p. 272: 10. The text:
[327] CP p. 151.
[328] GRL p. 138: 16. the text:
[329] The astral ships drawn in the Mandaean scrolls resemble, with no doubt, the ancient round boats of Iraq قفة (*quffa*) still used in some parts of the rivers of Mesopotamia. The image of the boatman taking one to the other world is a major theme of the Gilgamesh Epic (see Dalley, 1989: 104-105).

considered the Apsū to be the underworld ocean of sweet water, from which all springs of fresh water flow.[330] We find some resemblances between *hapiqia mia* and the *Khinvat* Bridge over the abyss which the Persian soul has to cross in order to reach Mount *Harā* (Paradise).[331] The god *Zurvān* controls the path which the souls of the dead, good and bad, must traverse before they come to Khinvat Bridge.[332] Like *surik ziwa* (mentioned above), the good Vāy takes the souls of the blessed by hand and brings them to their appointed place.[333] On the other hand, perhaps the Mandaean *hapiqia mia* has a linguistic analogy to the biblical terms אפקי ים *afiqe yam* (channels of the sea)[334] and אפקי מים *afiqe mayim* (channels of water).[335]

According to the Mandaeans' tradition, the world of *hapiqia mia* (outflowing water) is located above the world of Abatur (the Third Life) and below the world of pure Yōšamin.[336]. When the soul departs the dead body it flies over the great white mountain *Sur* towards the *maṭarta* (purgatory). Its journey takes forty-five days during which the soul goes into the process of purification. Then Abatur weighs the soul and allow it to proceed towards the *hapiqia mia*, the frontier of the world of light which the soul has to traverse in order to reach the worlds of light. The water functions as a last barrier before the soul reaches her final destination, the World of Light. The *masiqta* (ritual of the dead) helps the ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* (soul) to cross these waters:

[330] See Lambert, 1975: 47.
[331] Gershevitch, 1967: 205.
[332] Khinvat might be a bridge over underground waters (Boyce, 1975: 117 n. 46).
[333] Zaehner, 1955: 338.
[334] II Samuel 22: 16.
[335] Psalms 18: 16.
[336] ATŠ p. 163; Mandaic p. 45. The text:
[illegible]

> And there is nothing which advances a soul but commemorations; (and there shall be no *masiqta* read without commemorations), for these are her helpers in light, since they cleanse her, float her over the ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, Waters of Death into the Light and are her deliverers.[337]

In other writings, it is Hibil-Ziwa who saves the souls from 'Ur, the king of darkness, by pulling them out from his mouth and throw them in the Ocean of Sup to remove their sins and then leads them across and delivers them to the uthra who is in charge of the *hapiqia mia*:

> He takes them out from the mouth of 'Ur and throws them into the large sea of Sup, until their sins are completed. Then these souls, like white sesame thrown into living water, are then baptized with a great ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *maṣbuta* (baptism), with a great baptism which baptize them and instructs them with great teachings. Then he leads them across the water streams *hapiqia mia*. The uthra of the water streams *hapiqia mia* approaches the souls, which were in affliction, and tears appear together in their eyes. He speaks to them, "You have dwelt in Tibil (the earthly world), in the dwelling of the sinner". Afterward he takes every individual by his right hand and seats him in great glory.[338]

It is worthy to note that whereas Lidzbarski translated *hapiqia mia*, "Wasserbächen" [339], Lady Drower stated, "I find it better to translate by a paraphrase which conveys the real meaning, hence "waters of death".[340] The Mandaeans consider

---

337 ATŠ p. 216. Drower translates هفدقدا مدا *hapiqia mia*, "waters of death".

338 DY, p. 251 f. = Lidzbarski's Manadaean manuscript ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡖ ࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ "Book of John" p. 268 f. The text:
[illegible]

339 Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 83: 8.

340 ATŠ p. 216, n. 6.

hapiqia mia "the frontiers of the World of Light" and "the heavenly waters" created by the Light beings in order the souls of the Mandaeans can baptize in them and set forth towards their final destination. The *hapiqia mia* are not cut-off waters or waters of death, which Gilgamesh had to cross in his quest for immortality; they are brooks or streams, as declared by *Hibil-Ziwa* to his father *Manda d̲-Hiia*:

> I created the water streams *hapiqia mia* of the *yardina* (Jordan), in which the souls are baptized. I created the banks upon which all the souls draw near and descend to the water streams *hapiqia mia*.[341]

§ 2. 2. 5 - Abatur: [illegible] (the Third Life)

§ 2. 2. 5. 1 - [illegible] Abatur Rama:

Abatur is the Third Life, the father of the *uthras,* the son of the Second Life, Yōšamin. He is: 'the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sits with scales set before him weighing deeds and (their) reward. He sees and discerns that which the worlds and generations do:

> Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden, and guarded, he is the one who is enthroned on high and hidden in the depth. He is the one who understands the worlds and the generations. He is the one who sees what they do and is appointed over the souls to weigh what they have done to holds it witness against them.[342]

---

341 DY, p. 191 = Lidzbarski's BJ manuscript p. 206. The text:
[illegible]

342 GRR book 13, p. 347: 4. Cf. עתיק יומיא "Ancient of Days", Daniel 7: 13 The text:
[illegible]

Abatur is Bhaq-Ziwa[343], the father of the uthras *ab d-uthria* who by gazing into the *mia siauia* (the black waters) result in the creation of Ptahil, the demiurge who creates the physical world including the *tibil* (earth):

> When the Life, my Father spoke thus, Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and gazed into the black waters, and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to *bit mişria* the boundaries. Abatur examined Ptahil and said to him, 'Come, come Ptahil. You are the one whom I saw in the black waters.' . . . Abatur instructed him and said, 'Arise my son, condense a condensation in the black waters.[344]

In "Secret Adam", Lady Drower writes:

> "*Abatur*, pronounced *Awathur*, is a mystery-figure and the meaning of his name uncertain. He is sometimes called the 'Third Life'. Andreas, according to W. Brandt, derived the name from old Persian words meaning 'provided with (or "possessing"). .. His ideal is Abatur Rama, the 'Lofty Abatur'. The parallel with the Egyptian weigher of souls is obvious; the Persian *Meher Davar* at the *Chinvat* (Bridge of the Requiter) [345] also weighs the deeds of souls before they may pass over into the world of bliss."[346]

Abatur rips open the lower boundary of the World of Light by gazing below the Pleroma [347] into the "black waters" and sets into motion the creation of the physical

---

[343] GRR book 3, p. 111: 12. "BHQ ZYW' appears as a Jewish angel in M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélogogie* (1897) p. 193" (See McCullough, 1967: 26).

[344] GRR book 5, pp. 195: 10, 196: 8. The text:

[345] A bridge on the abyss, the souls have to cross in order to reach Paradise (Boyce, 1975: 117).

[346] SA p. 64 f.

[347] Scholem defines the pleroma as: "sometimes the "fullness" is the region of the true God himself, and sometimes it is the region to which he descends or in which the hidden God

world 'matter'.[348] It is as if Abutur was enchanted with darkness just like when the light became enamored of the image of light projected from Darkness in the Narcissus motif.[349] In the doctrine of the Sabians of Harran we read a similar motif: "The soul, turned at one time, towards the matter: she fell in love with it, and burning with desire to experience bodily pleasure, wished no more to be separated from it. Thus the world was born."[350] Theodore Bar-Konai's [351] sums up the doctrine of the "Kukeans"[352], a sect which was already in existence in the middle of the fourth century:

> They say that God was born from the sea situated in the World of Light, which they call the Awakened Sea; and this Sea of Light and the world are more ancient than God. [They also say] that when God was born of the awakened Sea, he seated himself above the waters, looked into them, and saw his own image. He held out his hand and took [this image] to be his companion, had relations with it and thus engendered a multiple of gods and goddesses. They called this the

---

manifests himself in different figures." He also writes: "The curious fact should be noted here that the technical term pleroma appears, somewhat deformed but still clearly recognizable, in the exact Hebrew translation, *ha-male'*, "the full" or "the fullness" (Scholem, 1962: 68 - 9). In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the shining spheres of the divinity with all its powers, the non material world, the dwelling place of the spirits, the archons and aeons (Doresse, 1958: 177). The Mandaean etymology for pleroma is ܡܠܝܐ *malaiia* "fullness" and ܡܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ *malaiia ḏalma* "fullness of the world" (MD, p. 243) ܐܘܗܘ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ *uhua mlaiia ḏalma* "he (Ur, the king of darkness) became the fullness of the world or: he became the Pleroma of the cosmos" (GRR p. 99: 4).

[348] Deutsch, 1999: 20.

[349] Jonas H., 1958: 161.

[350] Doresse, 1960: 316.

[351] An eighth-century Nestorian heresiographer; a native of Kaškar in Beth 'Aramaye, Iraq (See Burkitt, "The Religion of the Manichees", *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2, No. 3, May, 1922, pp. 263-276 esp. p. 267). Theodore bar Konai wrote the "Scholia", which is of a great value for research because of its reports about the Mandaeans and Manicheans (Rudoph, 1983: 20. See also Wasserstrom, 1995: 42).

[352] Perhaps the Quqites; a special heretical school identified in Edessa in the Second Century A.D., (Rudolph, 1983: 327. See also Drijvers, H., *Numen*_14 (1967), pp. 104-129). On the other hand they might be the ܩܢܝܐ *qanaiia* in Mandaean, are "smiths" or "potters". According to Robert Eisler, bar Konai (bar Kevani) says, 'The *Dostai* (followers of Dositheus, who became the leader of the disciples of John the Baptist after his death) are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Aramajē Naşoraeans (*Naşrāiā*).' The "Cantaeans," quoted by Theodore as the precursors of the Mandaeans, who trace themselves to the Qenites, the group were also referred to as *Καινίται, Καιαοί* etc. in the Septuagint as KENAIOI, KINAIOI, KAINAIOI, etc. Eisler believes that Bar Konai use of 'k' instead of 'q' goes back to the Greek influence (Eisler 1931: 616).

Mother of Life, and said that she made seventy worlds and twelve aeons.[353]

There are many parallels between Abatur and the similar heavenly beings in the above two tales, such as gazing into the water and seeing own image and becoming infatuated by it, and from this own image or coition with own image the cosmos (physical world) comes into being.[354] This might lead us to the conclusion that the Gnostic sects, including the Mandaeans, must have shared relatively close motifs.

Abatur was possessed with his ego and became arrogant, "He conducted himself like the Great Ones and said, 'I am the father of the uthras!'" [355] He abandoned the name which the Life gave him. He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world!' Abatur's rebellion was punished sternly by the higher deities. He was dethroned and expelled from the world of Light and he was assigned as the "Weigher" and judge of the souls:

> Then Hibil-Ziwa went and said to Abatur, 'Arise! set up your throne in the House of Boundaries and take over sovereignty. And sublimate that which is sound (good) from that which is base (lit. dregs) when Man's measure is full and he comes and is baptized in your Jordan, is weighed in your Scales, is sealed with your seal and rises up and dwells in your world.'[356]

---

353 Doresse, 1960: 58.
354 For the Narcissus motif, see Jonas, 1958: 161 ff.
355 GRR book 3 p. 111: 14.
356 DA p. 1, The Mandaean Diwan (Scroll) of Abatur line 8. Drower's translation, text collated:

§ 2. 2. 5. 2 - Abatur in the Incantations:

Abatur was invoked, along with other Mandaean deities, in few Mandaic incantations, such as in Lidzbarski's lead amulet from the third or fourth century A.D and published in 1909. He is invoked in this particular amulet to strengthen the knot [357] of the house of a certain *Per Nukraiia* son of *Abandukt* and to help him against evil doings of the planets.[358] Bhaq (another name of Abatur)[359] was conjured in bowl C (9931.4.1) to crush the power and the secret spells of Rūha against the client *Duktan Purk*, daughter of *Bzurgunatai*.[360]

Nathaniel Deutsch attempted to establish some resemblances between the Mandaic Abatur and the Jewish Metatron and to draw the attention to the "Mandaic awareness of Jewish angelogical tradition in general and of Metatron in particular is supported by the evidence of the magic bowls." [361] In this respect Wasserstrom has written: "Metatron remained alive in Mandaen magic for perhaps over a millennium."[362] Metatron (MYṬṬRWN) appears in one of the Mandaic incantations bowls (McCullough D) in which he was adjured, "In the name of Metatron HLDH who serves before the Curtain and who has compassion upon the countryside; he conjures the hundreds of fierce angels of Halahkin, who has sweetened meat for eating and wine for drinking." McCullough suggests that the writer of this incantation was

---

[357] "Those (feminine) who blow on knots." النفاثات في العُقد (Quran, Al-Falaq n. 113). Knot sorcery was a favorite form of witchcraft, practiced in Arabia at the time of Mohammed, either to prevent evil against the client, or afflict harm on the foe. The knot is used as a powerful weapon against the forces of Darkness. The Redeemer Mnada d̲-Hiia says: "I wrapped his (the King of Darkness') navel with a veil, and tied a knot around his heart" (GRR, p. 101: 2. See also Yamauchi, 1967: 60).

[358] Yamauchi 1967, text 22: 244, p. 253.

[359] GRR, book III, p. 111:12.

[360] McCullough, 1967: 15.

[361] Deutsch, N., 1999: 95. He also writes: "Metatron is not the only angelic being shared by the Mandaeans and Jews. Gabriel was also adopted by Mandaeans and played and important role as a demiurge figure in one version the Mandaean cosmogony" (Ibid 96).

[362] Wasserstrom, S., 1995: 191 n. 98.

influenced by the Jews and he dated the bowl 200 – 300 C.E.[363] Levene believes that the above invocation was quoted from "an unidentified Hekhalot text" and it is "an unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources".[364]

Since Abatur son of Bihrat [365] is in charge of the gate of the World of Light, The Mandaeans believe that if they turn their faces, during mishaps, towards the North (the House of Abatur), and pray to the Life and to the other Mandaean deities, they receive their bless and comfort.

§ 2. 2. 5.3 - Abatur of the Scales ࡀ࡝ࡀ࡚ࡓ ࡊ࡚ࡊ࡛ࡀ Abatur Muzania:

Abatur was chastised because he threatened the hierarchy of the World of Light when he declared clearly that he wants to be 'the king of the *škinas*' (the celestial abodes):

> And Abatur spoke to him (to Hibil-Ziwa): 'I want to be a king, and I want to hold the *škinas*!'[366]

The Realm of Light became enraged against Abatur because he created a world for his own and called himself, "Father of the *uthras*" without the endorsement of his Fathers:

> As Bhaq created and built, he stood and looked at this world. It was neither vast and nor great as the worlds of the Great Life. Once he looked at his world and called himself "the Father of the *Uthras*" ... the Place of Light was enraged against him.[367] Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself,

---

[363] McCullough, 1967: 32.
[364] Levene, 2002: 34.
[365] Abatur's *miluaša* "Mandaean zodiac name"(CP p., 151).

[366] DY, p. 244:7. The text:

ڀڪڊڊڪ ڊڀڀڀڦ ڀڊڊ ڊڊڊڪ ڊڀڀڪ ڀڀ ڪڊڊڪ ڊڪڪڊڊ

[367] GRR 360:21. The text:

> and he held himself to be a mighty one and abandoned the name that his father had called him by. And he spoke, 'I am the father of the *uthras*, the father of the *uthras* I, I made *škinas* for the uthras.' He contemplated the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world.' He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water.[368]

He instigated rebellion against the Great Life and created the division in the World of Light, which can not be repaired:

> Abatur caused the upper cleft which cannot be filled in all eternity.[369]

As a result of his defiance, Abatur was dethroned and expelled from the World of Light and he was made him ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡌࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ *abatur muzania* Abatur of the Scales, who is sitting between the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡉࡀ *maṭaratia* purgatories (or: watch-houses) [370] and the worlds of light weighing souls in his scale:

> Therefore, Abatur Rama, whose child is the world, is degraded from his throne, degraded, and he went to become "He-of-the-Scale".[371]

He was forced to occupy a lower position and take the office of weighing the souls of the dead after they have been sent to the purgatories for purification. When the souls come out of the purgatories (or: watch-houses) he weighs them with his

---

[illegible]

368 GRR book III, p. 111: 12.

369 DY, 5:2. The text:

[illegible]

370 *Maṭaratia* (sing. *maṭarta*): purgatories, watch-houses, houses of purification, places of detention (MD p. 241). The soul after death has to go through the *maṭarta* for necessary purification before being weighed on the Scales of Abatur and then ferried by the ships of light to its final destination; the world of light. (MII, pp. 28, 41, 46, 74-5, 80, 90, 95, 169, 173 ff. See also Pallis, *Mandaean Studies* (1926) p. 74 ff.).

371 DM'L p. 41: 8. The text:

[illegible]

Scales and then allows whoever is worthy to proceed to the world of light. Abatur protested against this decision to Hibil-Ziwa, the envoy of the higher deities, and said to him:

> This you have arranged for me, (*that I was obliged to leave*) my land that is lofty and my spouses who are worthy and suitable and you brought me and made me "He-of the-Scales".[372]

Abatur was degraded because he sinned against his Parents; he strove for the Low House (physical world), so he was brought down off his throne. Abatur spoke out his lament and he wondered of what happened to him:

> I said to myself, "I would be a great one; who made me an inferior one in the Tibil?"
> I said to myself, "I would be a King; who sent me to the ends of the world?"
> I said to myself, "I would be an eminent one; who placed the Scales into my hands?"[373]

We can hear Abatur protest against the World of Light's decision in the Book of John (*Draša d-Yahia*). When the King heard Abatur's, protest he became angry with him:

> "I am not a Weigher! I am an *uthra* from the race of the good ones. I am not a Weigher! I am the son of kings. I wish not to be placed in these black waters, and to keep impure souls from passing by me." [374]

---

[372] DA p. 1-2, the Mandaean Scroll line 10. Drower's translation, text collated:
ⵉⵀⵏ ⵅⵀⵙⵔ ⵍⵀⵙⵄⵔ ⵉⵀⵏ ⵍⵄⵏⵍⵙⵙⵄⵀⵙⵀⵏ ⵉⵍⵄⵔ ⵍⵙⵙⵀⵏⵍⵙⵔⵔ ⵄⵏⵍ ⵍⵙⵙⵔ ⵏⵀⵍ ⵙⵏⵄⵀⵙⵄ ⵍⵙⵀⵏ ⵄⵍⵄⵔ
ⵄⵏⵍⵙⵄⵀⵙⵀ ⵄⵉⵄⵀⵏⵍⵔ ⵉⵏⵄⵔ ⵉⵄⵙⵄⵀⵙ ⵉⵄⵙⵀⵔⵀⵙ ⵉⵄⵙⵔⵀⵙ ⵍⵄⵉⵄⵙ

[373] DY, p. 8: 16. The text:
ⵉⵄⵙⵏⵄ ⵉⵄⵙⵀ ⵄⵍⵙⵄ ⵙⵄⵉⵙⵙⵙ ⵄⵍⵀⵙⵀ ⵄⵙⵙⵀⵔ ⵅⵍⵍⵀⵙ ⵉⵄⵙⵄⵀ ⵉⵄⵙⵀ ⵍⵙⵙⵔⵙⵙ ⵄⵍⵀ ⵙⵙⵙ ⵄⵙⵙⵀⵔ ⵅⵍⵍⵀⵙ
ⵙⵙⵙ ⵉⵄⵙⵀ ⵄⵍⵄⵙⵙⵙ ⵄⵉⵄⵀⵏⵍⵔ ⵄⵄⵄⵀⵙⵍⵙ ⵄⵙⵙⵀⵔ ⵅⵍⵍⵀⵙ

[374] DY, p. 240:15. The text:
ⵄⵅⵍⵍⵄⵀⵙⵍ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵍⵄⵀⵙⵀ ⵙⵙⵙ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵍⵄⵀⵏⵍ ⵔⵍ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵍⵙⵙⵍⵙ ⵙⵙⵙⵏ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵉⵄ ⵄⵍⵄⵀⵏⵍ ⵔⵍ ⵄⵉⵄ
ⵉⵄⵍⵍⵄⵙⵙⵍ ⵍⵄⵙⵙⵀⵙⵄ ⵄⵍⵄⵍⵙⵙⵀⵙⵍⵔ ⵄⵏⵄⵀⵙⵀⵙⵔ ⵄⵍⵄⵙⵄⵔ ⵄⵙⵄⵄⵙ ⵄⵏⵄⵀⵙ ⵉⵍⵄⵙⵙⵙ

When Abatur said this, the King became full of anger and released a call into the world.[375]

Hence, Abatur took his case to the Pure Mana and asked him the reason he was chosen to the task of the Weigher of souls out of the other *uthras*:

Then Abatur spoke said to the pure Mana, 'Why have you sent me from out of all these numerous *uthras*? [376]

The Mana told Abatur why he was chosen for this task and comforted him:

Out of all the *škinas* and *uthras* there is none as you are. None in all these light worlds would be as gentle as you. You are gentle and you are suitable *uthra*. You are generous and are to the souls as a support. You feel sympathy with the souls and you are an acceptable judge.[377]

§ 2. 2. 5. 4 - Abatur; the Persian *Rašn uRast* ڕەشنو ڕاست

Abatur can be associated with Rašnu the Persian god of justice and last judgement and the personification of righteousness. He was said to weigh the deeds of the soul during the three day period of evaluation following the death of an individual. Rašnu guards the Chinvat Bridge leading to heaven. He carries the golden scales with which he weighs the souls at Judgement.[378] Peculiarly, the Mandaeans' holy book Ginza Rba identifies Abatur with Rašnu:

---

375 DY, p. 242: 9. The text:
ואף אכלאך אלאלו אוכאנאיא אוֿכּכּכּא אלאאך (כּנאאכּו) כּאאך ילאא אָ

376 DY, p. 243: 12. The text:
ואלא ינאכּאאוֿאּכּא אכּל אאו אוֿאּכּאלאּכּא אוכּכּנא ילאא יאך אלכּאאכּאלאּכּא אוֿאאך אאאך אאא כּנאאכּו אלאאך

377 The Mandaean BJ p. 243: 14. The text:
אכּנאאלאּכּא אוכּלו ילאאכּ גאלך אָ אוכּכּנאא אוֿאלאּאּ ילנאָ יאך כּנאאכּאל אאאך אלכּאאכּו גוֿוֿאא
אא אוֿאאאא אוֿאאאּאכּלו גאכּל כּאכּ אוֿאאו אכּוֿאָ אכּכּנא אוֿאאו אאא אוֿאו אאל גאלך אָ אאא
אוֿאוֿאָ אוֿנאא אוֿאאאא אוֿאאאּאכּלו

378 Zaehner, R. C., 1961: 56. See also MII n. 4 p. 95.

Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden and guarded, who is (in fact) Rašnu Rast.[379]

Rašnu "the Judge" weighs the actions, and then words, then thoughts; but all three contribute to total of man's good or evil.[380] The Mandaean Abatur (Rašnu) and his son Ptahil induced Zaehner to argue that this episode is derived from the Persian Zervanite myth.[381]

Abatur is the guardian of *maṭarata* (a purgatory or watch-house) through which the *nišmata* souls go through to the world of Light after being purified from their contaminations. Those *Naşoraeans* (Mandaeans) who are not worthy of the House of Life will be turned away and not allowed to go through the gate of Abatur:

> When the Naşoraeans, who are not worthy of the House of Life, reach the gate of the house of Abatur will be turned away. From the house of Abatur they will be turned away and they will not behold the place of Light. [382]

On the other hand the great gate of Abatur is open to those who are worthy of the house of Life:

> Sure and assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (*masiqta*) to the great gate of Abatur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abatur's house, give

---

[379] GRR book 13 p. 343: 22. *ubatur atiqa rama kasia unṭira ḏ-hu rašnu urast*

[380] Boyce, 1975: 241.

[381] Zaehner, 1955: 77.

[382] GRR, 391: 21. The text:

them habitation in the *škina* of Abatur and will guard them by secret and watchful *manas*.[383]

It seems that Abatur was convinced to take his new office as the souls' judge who weighs the deeds and the rewards and separates *nišimta* the soul from *rūha* the spirit:

> I set forth and reached the watch-house (purgatory) of the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. I asked my brothers, the *uthras*, saying to them: "Whose watch-house (purgatory) is this, and who is held captive in it?" My brothers, the *uthras*, say to me: 'This watch-house belongs to the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. The Scales are set before him; he weighs the deeds and the rewards and unites the spirit with the soul.[384]

The Great Life explained to the proven pure one, who pleaded for Abatur, that he (the Life) cannot let Abatur's rebellious conduct to pass and he, therefore, must carry out his task as Abatur Muzania (Abatur-of-the-Scale) until the end of the world:

> For your fame's sake and Our name's sake. When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it? Who will let him be when he offends? And casts Our root into polluted waters? (One) who accepts favour from Us and then goes and casts it into the abode of the dark (powers)![385]

---

383 CP, p. 42. (the book of *Masiqta*, hymn No 47) Drower's translation, text collated. The text: [illegible]

384 GRL 45: 1. The text: [illegible]

385 CP hymn n. 243 p. 199. Drower's translation text collated. The text: [illegible]

§ 2. 2. 5. 5 - Abatur, the Symbol of Virility:

Since he is the father of the *uthras* and the creator god Ptahil, Abatur is depicted in some Mandaean scriptures as "tongue" and hypostatic "phallus"; The tongue is associated with the phallus:

> Abatur-Rama, whose name is "the Great Jordan of White Water", that he is called "the Tongue".[386] And when you pray the petition (CP p. 89 n. 80), you offer praise to the Father of Glory whose name is the Great Mind (*Mana*) and to the lofty Abatur whose name is "the Tongue". [387]

It is not quite clear what is meant by the "tongue" in these scriptures but Deutsch has explained that the tongue, according to the *Zohar*, "is considered analogous to the male organ" and "thus, as in the medieval Jewish sources, the Mandaean depictions of Abatur preserve the phenomenological link between the tongue and the phallus." [388] Deutsch also noticed, after studying question 166 in *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, a number of striking parallels with kabalistic conceptions concerning the divine phallus such as the Mandaean appellation *raza rba* "great mystery" –referring to the phallus - which resembles the "identification of the phallic *Sefirah Yesod* as the "secret" or mystery in the Zohar".[389]

When Bhaq-Ziwa, who is identified with Abatur, declared himself as 'the father of the *uthras*' and when he begot Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos)

---

[386] ATŠ p. 174. Mandaean p. 50 n. 245. The text:

[387] ARZ p. 58, line 44. The Mandaean ARZ p. 5: 24. The text:

[388] See Deutsch 1999: 106-7. He refers, in n. 98, to *Studies in the Zohar*, p. 171 n. 65 and to Elliot Wolfson who writes, 'just as the spark and the line are phallic symbols so too is the scale, or more specifically, the tongue of the scale.'

[389] Deutsch 1995: 121.

he became the symbol of the virility in the world beyond.[390] *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (The Lesser First World) describes him as the *duna* (penis),[391] the organ of fatherhood and as semen,[392] which is "venerated than all the mysteries":

> And when you recite 'Life dwells in Its own radiance' you offer a praise to ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀࡉࡉࡕ *gabraiit* Maleness (the male organ?), the name of which is Abatur of the Scales but which the worlds and generations call ࡃࡅࡍࡀ *duna*, for it is venerated than all the mysteries.[393]

<u>§ 2. 2. 5. 6 - Abatur, the Heavenly Priest</u>:

> Blessed are you, Lofty Abatur; blessed and established in your *škinta* in which you sit.[394]

The Mandaean priest in his *škinta* surrounded by the *tarmidia* (disciples) and *ašgandia* (messengers, helpers) depicts Abatur, the celestial priest, who sits in *škinta* surrounded by his uthras and performs the heavenly rituals.[395] *Diwan Abatur*[396] is one of the most important scrolls to the Mandaean priests. It explains the Mandaean priests the journey of the soul through different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) and the relative punishment which the sinner soul receives. Other *diwans*, such as *Alma Rišaia Rba*, *Alma Rišaia Zoṭa*, and *Malkuta 'Laita*, consist of instructions and commandments to the priests and some of their texts portray Abatur as the heavenly priest such as:

---

[390] SA p. 29.
[391] *duna* = *dunda*: penis MD p. 105.
[392] Deutsch N., 1999, 106.
[393] ARZ p. 57. The Manaean ARZ p.5: 10. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible]
[394] CP p. 58, Mandaean Hymn n. 71. p. 168. The text:
[illegible]
[395] Deutsch 1999, 89.
[396] *Diwan Abatur* (DA) an illustrated manuscript includes creation myths, the journey of the soul through different *maṭarata* (purgatories). It was translated by E. S Drower and published by *Biblioteca Aposolica Vaticana* in 1950.

> And when you take the iron knife into your hand, you have placed Pthail's hand into Abatur's hand with (your) right hand. And when you take the sheep or the dove, and turn your face towards the Gate of Payer (the North) Abatur-of-the-Scales gazes upon you.[397]

Also:

> And when you signed (at) 'the House of Abatur, you cloth the soul in the seven vestures of Abatur. And when you say 'You shall go and reach "the guard-house of four beings, sons of perfection" those are the four handclasps (*kušṭas*) which Abatur seeks to exchange with the soul.[398]

The word *'uthras* refer to the *ganzivri* (archbishops), just as *malkia* ('kings") means "priests".[399] Since Abatur is the King of the *škinas*,[400] he is considered a heavenly Ganzibra (archbishop) in the Mandaean belief. The crown of priesthood is the 'crown of intermediation between the worlds of light and those of matter'.[401] Kurt Rudolph stated, "Out of celestial beings come types of celestial priests; the erring and rehabilitated priest is an especially favourite theme of this kind."[402]

§ 2. 2. 5. 7 - Abatur; the Divine Secretary:

Abatur is the heavenly being who is entitled to send ʿngirtia letters (secret messages)[403] to the lower worlds carrying certain instructions and

---

[397] ARZ p. 57 line 35.
[398] CP. P. 224.
[399] Ibid 226 n. 7.
[400] DY (Lidzbarski's manuscript), p. 261.
[401] SA p. 26.
[402] Rudolph, 1969 233-234.
[403] *'ngirta*: ʿngirta letter (MD p. 353). The term is also applied to a rite performed to the dying. The only outgoing *'ngirta* from this world to the world of light is few drops of *miša* (sesame oil) transformed into a small bottle and then the bottle is sealed with clay and marked with the impression of the priestly ring (*šom yawar*) and the ganzibra's to-be finger nail. After reading some secret prayers the small bottle is inserted into a pocket in the dying person's *rasta* (official garment. (MII p. 170) The priest recites, 'In the name of the Life. A sealed letter written in good-faith (*kušṭa*) and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) - Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied on it, and suspended it about the soul's neck and despatched to the Gate of Life (CP p. 61). The *'ngirta* (letter) serves as a kind of passport for the soul which is examined by *rab maksia* (the chief customs official) and the *šahardal* (P. شهردار = governor, MD p. 439) and make sure of its seal, and then let the soul pass over the *hapiqia mia* (streams

commandments. He also receives the letters, which are sent by the priests, with the souls after death. A good example of the commandments sent to the lower world is written in the Mandaean Book of John (*Draša d-Yahia*). It was sent to John the Baptist when he refused to baptise ʿišo (Jesus) because he was suspicious that Jesus will pervert the Law. After some lengthy arguments with Jesus, John the Baptist receives *'ngirta*, a mandate, from the House of Abatur instructing John the Baptist to baptise Jesus:

> When *'išu mšiha* (Jesus Christ) said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abatur: 'Yahia, baptize the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptize him, and lead him up again to the shore, and there set him. Then Rūha made herself like to a dove and threw a cross over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours. "O Jordan" she says, "you sanctified me and sanctified my seven sons."[404]

§ 2.2.6 - The Fourth Life ptahil Ptahil:

§ 2.2.6.1 - Ptahil; A Mandaean 'Uthra or Egyptian Demiurge?

Ptahil (the Fourth Life) is the son of Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur; the Third Life) who begot him when he opened the gate of the World of Light and gazed into the black waters.[405] As soon as he beheld him, Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur) summoned Ptahil-Utra,

---

of water) to the house of Life. The *'ngirta* (letter) process is well known in Mesopotamia as a legal act, and goes back at least as far as the Old Baylonian period and extends through the Neo-Babylonian period into the Seleucid era (See Greenfield J. C., *A Mandaic Miscellany*, JAOS 104. 1 (1984) pp. 81-85 esp. p. 82).

[404] Mead, 1924: 51. DY, p. 103.

[405] Cf. 'The Father of Light who sees his image in the water of pure light . . . One gains the impression regarding the Spirit of God who brooded over the face of the waters as related in Gen. 1: 2b.' (Drijvers, *Numen*, vol. 14, (1967), pp. 104-129, esp. p. 118). The idea, in most of

embraced him and kissed him like a great one.[406] He bestowed names on him; names which are concealed and guarded in their place. He gave him the name "Gabr'il" the Messenger.[407] In another passage of the Ginza we read:

> Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and stared into the black waters; and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to the boundary. Abatur's mind examined Ptahil, and Abatur said to his son Ptahil, "Come, come, Ptahil, you are the one whom I saw in the black waters." When he beheld him in his own form, that he was clothed in his robes of every kind and colour, he undressed him and took them from him; and he clothed him in (some of) his radiance and arrayed him in (some of) his light.[408]

We might assume that Ptahil owes his name to the act of opening the gate of heavens carried out by Abatur ࡒࡀࡌ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀ, *qam hu Abatur upihta*[409] *lbaba*.[410] On the other hand some scholars associate Ptahil's name with ࡐࡕࡄ PTH פתח ("open", "create") and his name is the combination of ࡐࡕࡄ+ࡀࡉࡋ *pth+'il* (open + god) therefore his name might mean "the god who creates" or "god creates". In this respect Yamauchi is confident that the word

the Gnostic beliefs, behind creating the world by a demiurge is to estrange the Supreme Being contact with matter and 'to interpolate intermediaries between Him and the world.' (Wilson, 1958: 102).

[406] In Mandaean myths Ptahil is the son of Hibil-Ziwa and Zahrail (Rūha's sister and identified with Ištar and Venus الزُّهَرة GRR book 5). He was married to her during his journey to the netherworld. He is considered the son of both Light and Darkness and therefore his creation of the physical world was unsuccessful because he himself was born of warring principles. (MII n. 5 p. 95).

[407] GRR p. 111: 21. Using the epithet of Gabriel, the messenger perhaps refers to Jewish-Samaritan Gnostic baptismal movements at the beginning of the first millennium. (Zaehner, 1955: 59 ff.)

[408] GRR, book 5, pp. 195: 10. The text :
ࡒࡀࡌ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀ [illegible]

[409] PHT metathesis of PTH: to open, to create (MD p. 366).

[410] See text above.

Ptahil is the formation of Ptah (the Egyptian god) and El, and not from the word 'to open'.[411] In this respect Cyrus Gordon wrote: "Ptahil is composed of the Egyptian "Ptah" + Semitic "Il" and it would highlight the Egyptian component in Mandaeism as well as indicate that the name is Egypto-Semitic (signifying "Eg. Ptah = El/God")".[412] Widengren ascribes the difficulty in defining Ptahil to the fact that "god" is usually written עיל,[413] but Widengren was not aware that the guttural (ﻉ ← ע) occurs in Mandaic incantations in the name ﻝﺃﻫﺴﺘﻓ Ptah'il פתחעיל.[414] It seems that the guttural ע ← ﻉ is assimilated in some Mandaean names such as ﺀﻟﺴﻫﻛﻣﺩ *Manda d-Hiia* מנדא דַהייא instead of ﺀﻟﺴﻫﻛﻣﻉﺩ *Mand'a d-Hiia* מנדעא דַהייא.[415]

Lidzbarski also connects this demiurge with the Egyptian creator-god Ptah.[416] Kraeling shares Lidzbarski's opinion and adds, '*pth* to 'open' came to be used in the sense of 'create' but he believes that the name is not essentially Aramaic but a combination of *ptah* and *'il*. He also refers to Bousset's argument which suggests that "the Mandaean Ptahil is in fact none other than the Iranian *Yima*. In support of this identification he adduces the observation that both Ptahil and *Yima* enter into relation with evil powers (*daevas*)[417], and that both experience a fall from grace by reason of this relationship."[418] Eisler points out that he finds in the angelology of the Mandaeans the remarkable

---

[411] Yamauchi, 1967: 63. *pth*: create, also *pth* n. div. Ptah. (Faulkner R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford (2002), p.96).
[412] Gordon, (Reviewed Work) JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.
[413] Widengren, 1950: 59 n. 1.
[414] Yamauchi, 1967: 253 line 245, (text 22, Lidzbarski's translation, 1909).
[415] Yamauchi, 1967: 235, 251. However, there is no evidence to support either Gordon's or Yamauchi's identification Ptahil with the Egyptian god Ptah.
[416] Lidzbarski, JB, pp. xxvii, xxviii.
[417] He (Ptahil) is the *melka* who rules the ﺀﻟﺴﻫﻛﺑﺍﻣ *šibiahia* (the Seven Planets =demons) (see MII n. 5 p. 95).
[418] Kraeling, 1933: 152-165. *yima* is the "god who is supposed to dwell beneath the earth". For more details about *yima* see Boyce 1975: 94. See also Zaehner 1955: 251, where *yima* saves man from the demons.

interpretation of Ptah-il, i.e. the old Egyptian or Canaanite god of smithies and metal-engravers, as the creator of heaven as well as of mankind.'[419] What emphasizes Eisler assumption is that the Ginza describes Ptahil (Gabriel) as skillful (creator) as the Greek:

> And Gabriel, the messenger, is called into being, (then) he will be instructed to create the world. He will arrive and condense a condensation, and create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[420]

There is a possible parallel proposed between the Mandaean Ptahil and the Egyptian god Ptah. Mercer noted that *'pt̲h* sounds like the Hebrew פתח "to open" and that Ptah played an important role in the famous Egyptian ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth", which resembles similar ceremony in the ancient Babylonia, designated to initiate an idol.[421] He also came up a very unlikely assumption when he stated: "it is neither impossible, nor even improbable, that the earliest worshippers of Ptah might have been Semites who made their way into Egypt, as others did before them and led by the god whom the called "the opener of the way"".[422] The rite of the "mouth opening" was part of the old lustration rites performed in Mesopotamia since the Third Dynasty of Ur.[423] Jonas also had no doubt that the name Ptahil, the Mandaean Demiurge, was taken from the Egyptian pantheon and "is connected with

---

[419] Eisler, 1931: 235. He makes this statement depending on the fact that the Naşoraeans (early Mandaeans) or the "keepers" of secrets are craftsmen in general (smiths, carpenters and boat-builders etc). For Ptah the Egyptian chief god of all handicraftsmen (see Budge, 1904: 500 ff.).
[420] GRR, book III p. 104: 17.
[421] For more details about the rite "Opening of the Mouth" see Blackman, "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 47-59.
[422] Mercer, 1949: 148-9. The Mandaeans myth tells us that Egypt was their first dwelling and from there they migrated to *ṭura d̲-madai* the Mountain of the Mandai (MII p. 10). Until recently a *masiqta* (ascension of the soul) ritual was performed for the Egyptians drowned while chasing Moses and the Jews across the *yama d̲-suf* "the Red Sea" (SA p. xv and n. 2 p. xv).
[423] Jacobsen, 1976: 124. Lady Drower noted that "Nöldke suggests a connection between the Mandaean sacramental "wafer" (*pihta*), and the Babylonian rites of *pit pī* ("opening of the mouth") and *mis pī* ("washing of the mouth")" (MII n. 15, p. 122).

the symbolic role of Egypt as the representative of the material world."[424] On the other hand, Deutsch believes that there are considerable parallels between Abatur (Ptahil's father) and Sabaoth.[425] Both of them are enthroned on the gate of the World of Light and each one of them is related to the demiurge of the physical world: Abatur created Ptahil and Sabaoth created a host of angelic beings.[426]

It is worthwhile to note that all sources mentioned above represent poor scholarship and assumptions based on very insufficient evidence. Therefore, Ptahil remains a very general name type, which doesn't really tell us anything of significance about him. This is one of the many reasons why Cyrus Gordon highlighted the significance of serious researches to be conducted on Mandaeism when he wrote:

> "Mandaic should be studied in depth by several circles of scholars, of whom the Gnostics are only one. To single out one of the many other fields: Mandaic is probably the most valuable aid for the study of the Babylonian Talmud."[427]

§ 2.2.6. 2. - Ptahil; the Creator of the Material World:

Ptahil is the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world. He received a mandate from his father, the Second Life (Abatur) commanding him to leave the "World Beyond" and descend "below" to the "place where there is no *škinas* or worlds" to create a world and uthras for himself like the "sons of perfection".[428] In another passage of the Ginza we read: "Abatur instructed him (Ptahil) and said,

---

[424] Jonas 1958: 98.
[425] Lord of Hosts (Isa. 1.9).
[426] Deutsch, 1999: 129.
[427] Gordon, JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.
[428] GRR, pp. 111, 112. Wilson defines the demiurge as: "god or father of all outside the Pleroma, the creator of all things psychic and hylic. He separated the two confused substances, and created things heavenly and earthly, heavy and light, higher and lower. He formed seven heavens, whence he is called the Hebdomad as their ruler, Achamoth being of the Ogdoad, recalling the archetypal Ogdoad of the Pleroma" (Wilson, 1958: 131).

"Arise, my son, condense a condensation in the black water."[429] But the Father of the Uthras (Abatur) forgot to instruct him against the odds neither equipped him with suitable means.[430] Ptahil descended below the *škinas*, towards the "place where there was no world". He waded in the in the filthy mud and turbid waters, but no solidification took place. He waded to his knees, to his thighs, but the waters did not solidify. Up to his first mouth (anus), up to his mouth, he stood in the water, but no solidification took place. He pronounced the name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) and nothing happened. He cast some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory upon the waters, but the waters remained fluid.[431]

When he sensed that the "living fire" in him changed, Ptahil engrossed in thought and decided to ascend to the Great (One) to receive the garment of the Living Flame.[432] In another passage of the Ginza, Ptahil descended to the world of his father Abatur and spoke to him, "My father, I took some of those seven garments, in which I was planted, and I entered the waters, but no earth was condensed. Then his father said to him, "O (you) *sakla*[433] (fool)! Take care that you do not put your self on a par with me. Take some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory with which I

---

[429] Ibid 196: 8. In the scroll of Diwan Abatur, we read another version: "Abatur spoke to Ptahil and said to him, "Go, condense a condensation, and create the worlds and create creatures. And take with you three hundred and sixty thousand demons and devils that they dig out the Light-Euphrates and heap up its two banks. Then make a world and create creatures and plant plants. Go and propagate thy world and take the demon *Qardum* who loosens, liberates and waters the plants" (DA, p. 11).

[430] GRR, p. 112.

[431] GRR, p.413: 5.

[432] GRR, p. 112.

[433] صەبلە *sakla* (fool) an epithet of the Gnostic demiurge Ialdabaoth (child of the void) or Samael (the blind god). It seems that different Gnostic confraternities used the term *sakla* to refer to the demiurge. The Gnostics consider themselves 'to be 'strangers,' exiled in the kingdom of *Sakla*, "the prince of darkness" (Deutsch 1999: 75 and Stroumsa 1984: 48, 120) For *Sakla*, the leader of the Fallen Angels, see Stroumsa 1984: 163. For Ialdabaoth, the *Saklas* who appoints seven kings over the seven heavens and five over the "chaos of the underworld" (Rudolph 1977: 79). The *Saklas* join the powers of Darkness to create Adam and Eve in order to entrap the elements of Light in the world through lust and the multiplication of humans (Stoyanov 2000: 110).

clothed you and toss (some of them) into the black waters that a condensation may now take place."[434]

Though Ptahil failed in his first attempt, he succeeded, by the powers of the garments and the living flame which mingled with water and the material creation came into being. Ptahil solidified the black waters, spanned out the firmament and appointed boundaries to the worlds. When the firmament was spanned out he seized the navel of the earth and bound it to the centre of heavens.[435] Ptahil used seven ܩܠܝܐ *qalia* "calls" in order to create the world: By his first call he solidified the earth and spanned out the heavens. By the second call he dispersed Jordans and canals. By the third he created the fish of the sea and birds of every type and variety. By the fourth he brought forth plants and seeds. By the fifth he created reptiles. By the sixth the whole structure of darkness came into being. By the seventh Rūha and her Seven planets came into being.[436] While Ptahil was engaged in creating the world, the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (sings of the Zodiac) and the Five (planets without the Sun and the Moon) stealthily climbed up and took their position in the vault.[437]

In another passage of the Ginza we read that although the process of creation was carried out by Ptahil against the wish of the Life because Ptahil threw

---

[434] GRR 196: 8f. The text:
ڤڕەس ڕكسڕڕ ٥ڕڤڪڵ ـــڪڤ ڤڕ ڪ٥ ٥ڕڪڵ ڵڵڪڕڕ٥ ٥ڕڪ٥ڤەسڪ ڕ٥ڪڵ ڕ٥ڕ٥ڕڪڕڵ٥ڵ
ڵ٥ـڤ ٥ڕ ٥ڕڪ٥ ڵڵڪڕ٥ ـــڪڪ٥ ڕ٥ڕ٥ڕڪڕڵ٥ڵ٥ ٥ڕڤ ڪڳڈ ڕڕ٥ڕڪڵ ڤڕ٥ـڕ٥ڵڳڈ ڕڕڪڕڕ٥ڕ
ـــ٥ڕ٥ ڪ٥ڕڪڵ٥ ـــڪڪڕ ٥ڕڤڪڵ ـــڪڤ ڤڕ ڪ٥٥ ڕ٥ڕ٥ ڤ٥ڵڈ ڕڵ ٥ڵ٥ڕ٥ڤڪڤ ٥ڕ٥
ڕ٥ـــ ڪڪڪڪ ـــڪڕڕڕ ٥ڕ٥ڕ ـــڪڤ ڤڕ ڪ٥٥ ڕ٥ڕ٥ ڤ٥ڵڈ ڕڵ ٥ڵ٥ڕ٥ڤڪڤ ٥ڕ٥
٥ڕ٥ ٥ڕ٥ڪڪڤ ٥ڕڤ٥ـــ٥ ٥ڕ٥٥ ٥ڕڪڪ ٥ڕڪڪ ڤ٥ڕڤڪ٥
Ptahil descendent into the black waters clad in garment of fire, and that the fire mingles with the water and the material world comes into being resembles the Zervanite myth where the male element, fire, fertilizing the female, water, in order to produce the cosmos. Zaehner believes that this Mandaean tale is derived from the same source as the Zarvanite myth, since the Mandaean religion distinguishes between two series of elements such as the living (good) fire and the devouring (evil) fire (Zaehner, 1955: 77).

[435] GRR, pp. 116-7.

[436] GRR, p. 414: 18.

[437] Some of the earlier forms of Gnosticism pointed that there was one God the Father, who created seven angels who created the world and made man in the likeness of the divine image (Wilson, 1958: 102-103).

the form, which the Second (Life) had formed, into the world of darkness and made creations and formed tribes which are not worthy of the House of Life (or: outside the House of Life),[438] the Life helped Abatur in obtaining the secret of solidification.[439] Abatur wrapped it (the secret) in his clean turban and delivered it to his son Ptahil. Ptahil went down again to the black waters and succeeded in solidifying earth and spanning out the firmament.[440]

It is notable in the Ginza that some passages describe Ptahil as an evil and a foolish creator and his house (the world) is taken from him.[441] *Draša d-Yahia* (the Book of John) tells us that he was appointed the guardian of the house until the end of the worlds.[442] In another passage from the Ginza we learn that Ptahil has been forgiven, by the higher deities of the World of Light, for creating the universe and he will be declared the king of the *uthras* and king of the Naşoraeans:

> Yōšamin and Abatur shall be baptized of the First Great Life in the Jordan. Afterwards Ptahil-Uthra shall be carried away from the putrid clouds in which he sits and purified in the Jordan of the First Life. In that Jordan his stench will be removed. He will be embraced by the First Life, and he will tell about the stocks and fetters which he endured in the world. He will tell about the pain which inflicted him from his father. He will be declared the King of Uthras, and will have authority upon the congregation of souls. He will be declared the King of the Naşoraeans, and prayer and praise will rise for him.[443]

---

[438] GRR, p. 287: 9. The text:

[439] According to the Manichean doctrine, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descended into the abyss and defeated the powers of darkness and fashioned the universe from their bodies. 'Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15).

[440] GRR, 414: 15 f.

[441] Ibid, 117: 16. *Saklas,* according to the Manicheans, is the leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 396).

[442] DY p. 5: 3. The text:

[443] GRR 380: 21 f. The text:

§ 2.2.6.3 - The Creation of Adam:

There is more than one version in the Ginza for the creation of Adam. According to tractate 10 of the Ginza, Ptahil creates Adam according to his image with the help of the Planets. They create Adam and cast some of their spirits and some of their mysteries into him and his wife Eve but were unable to make him stand on his feet. Ptahil brings a "hidden *mana*" form his father Abatur and cast it into Adam and Eve. Only then Adam sneezes and stands on his feet:

> After Ptahil had created the world, he built his son Adam according to his form, and according to Adam's form Hawa (Eve) his was built. Pthail cast into Adam a kind of *rūha* spirit from his own *rūha* spirit,[444] and each of the Seven (planets) cast into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) some of his own mystery. However, Ptahil and Seven (Planets) who were with him could not raise Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve).[445] Therefore, Ptahil went towards his father Abatur, obtained a hidden *mana*, which was given to him from the House of the Life, brought it, and cast it into Adam and into his wife Hawa (Eve). . . . Adam sneezed and asked for the life.[446] Ptahil and the planets who were with him said to him (Adam): "Live, Adam!" Then Adam stood up, bowed down

---

444 Cf. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Genesis 2: 7.

445 According to the Apocryphon of John, the seven powers contributed from their own elements the following "souls" for Adam: the "bone-soul", the "sinew-soul", the "flesh-soul", the "marrow-soul", the "skin-soul", and the "hair-soul". Rudolph comments: "In spite of the skill devoted to the formation of the psychical body it remains immobile and it is not possible to make him stand uptight. This gives "Wisdom" (*sophia*) opportunity to intervene in order to win back the power which through her error she had lost to her son the Demiurge." (Rudolph, 1983: 102)

446 An Iraqi tradition is that sneezing is a sign of life. They tell stories about people who were thought to be dead but they returned to life after they sneezed. Sneezing for them, also, is a sign of warning i.e., if a person was about to depart and someone else sneezes, he postpones his departure for some time.

and praised that man who had opened his eyes and made him stand on his feet. [447]

Tractate III (the subject of this research) of the Ginza Rba narrates the creation of Adam by Ptahil and the Planets as follows:

When Ptahil came, he spoke to the planets: 'Let us create Adam that he may be king of the world', when he had spoken thus to them, they all consulted each other: 'Let us tell him that we want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve), because he belongs to us.' They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve and make them the head of the whole generation." When the planets spoke thus to him Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said: 'If I by myself create Adam and Eve, the head of the generation, what will Adam (then) know what to do in the world?'[448] Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the Planets and said: "Adam is my son; he is the king of the world!" The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: "What do we confide in and rely on, and what is our authority in the world?" Ptahil spoke to them and said: "You shall be his fosterer(s), and render him full service."

They created Adam and laid him down, but there was no *nišimta*[449] soul in him. When they created Adam they were unable to cast a soul into him. They pleaded to Ayar-Ziqa (the ether wind) to hollow out his bones, and marrow be formed in them. That marrow be formed in them, that he might spring up and stand on his feet. They summoned *ṣauta d̲'šata haita* the splendor of the living flame that might illuminate his attire and he might spring up and stand on his feet. They sent for *habla d̲šabria* the mist of the streams and the fumes of the consuming fire to enter his trunk that he might clinch his

---

[447] GRR pp. 287-8:

[448] Ptahil created Adam last, just like in Genesis 1.

[449] *nešamah* in Genesis 2:7

fist and beat with his wings (arms), that he might grumble and shake himself, and that he might be spring up and stand on his feet...

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: 'Allow us to cast into him some the *rūha* spirit which you brought with you from your father's house.' All the Planets exerted themselves, and the Lord of the World exerted himself. In spite of all their efforts, they could not make him stand on his feet. Ptahil set off in his glory and ascended to the Place of Light. He stood in the presence of the Father of the Uthra,[450] and his father spoke to him: "What have you accomplished?" He answered him: "All that I made has been successful, (but) my counterpart and yours have not been successful."[451]

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself, set forth, and hurried to *atar kasia* the secret place. He fetched the (great) *mana*, [452] which illuminates all corruption. He wrapped him (the *mana*) in his pure turban under the (spells) of the (secret) names which the Life gave him. He brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil, his son. When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra, the Life summoned Hibil, Šitil and Anoš[453] the outstanding uthras who are flawless. He summoned them and gave them their orders, and warned them concerning the *nišmata* souls. He said to them: 'You be a guardian over them, so that all the worlds may know nothing about them. Let not the muddle-headed Ptahil know, [454] how the *nišimta* soul falls into the body. How the soul falls into the body and how the blood fills (lit: speak in) it and how the veins permeate it. Let the supporter (*maulānā*) Adakas-Mana be his

---

[450] Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur).

[451] Cf. The creation of Adam in Nag Hammadi Codices. It is written that "the Archigenetor issues a decree with regard to that man to be formed, and each of the powers cast his seed upon the midst of the navel of the earth. From that day on the seven commanders (archons) formed the man and he was called "Adam". But this creature was left without a soul for forty days until "wisdom life" (*sophia zoē*) sent her breath into Adam. He began to move on earth but could not stand up.' (Rudolph 1983: 96-97) Drower noted that the unsuccessful creation of Adam "constantly appear in Gnostic, Rabbinic, and Kabalistic writings" (SA, n., 3 p. 35).

[452] *mana*: soul (MD p. 246).

[453] The triad of *uthras* produced by Hawa-Kasia (the secret Eve), and act as "saviours" in the Mandaean literature (SA p. 36).

[454] For Ptahil "sakla" or "blila" the fool, see above §2.2.6.2.

protector.[455] . . . Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban, and enfolded him in his garment. When Ptahil wanted to cast the soul into Adam's trunk, I (Manda d̲-Hiia) snatched it from his pocket. While Ptahil lifted Adam up, I erected him on his bones. While he laid his hands on him, I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones. His body filled with marrow, and the radiance of the Life spoke in him. When the radiance of the Life spoke in him, Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.[456] I led him upwards to the House of the Great Ones; to the place where the Great One is enthroned. I entrusted him to the *ganzibras* Treasurers, the *uthras* who look after the Jordans. The Life thanked the *uthra*, who had brought the *nišimta* soul.[457]

455Adakas-Mana the light being who came from the hidden place and fell into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve), and made them stand on their feet, opened their eyes to behold and opened their mouths to feed. GRR 290: 6f. The text:

[illegible]

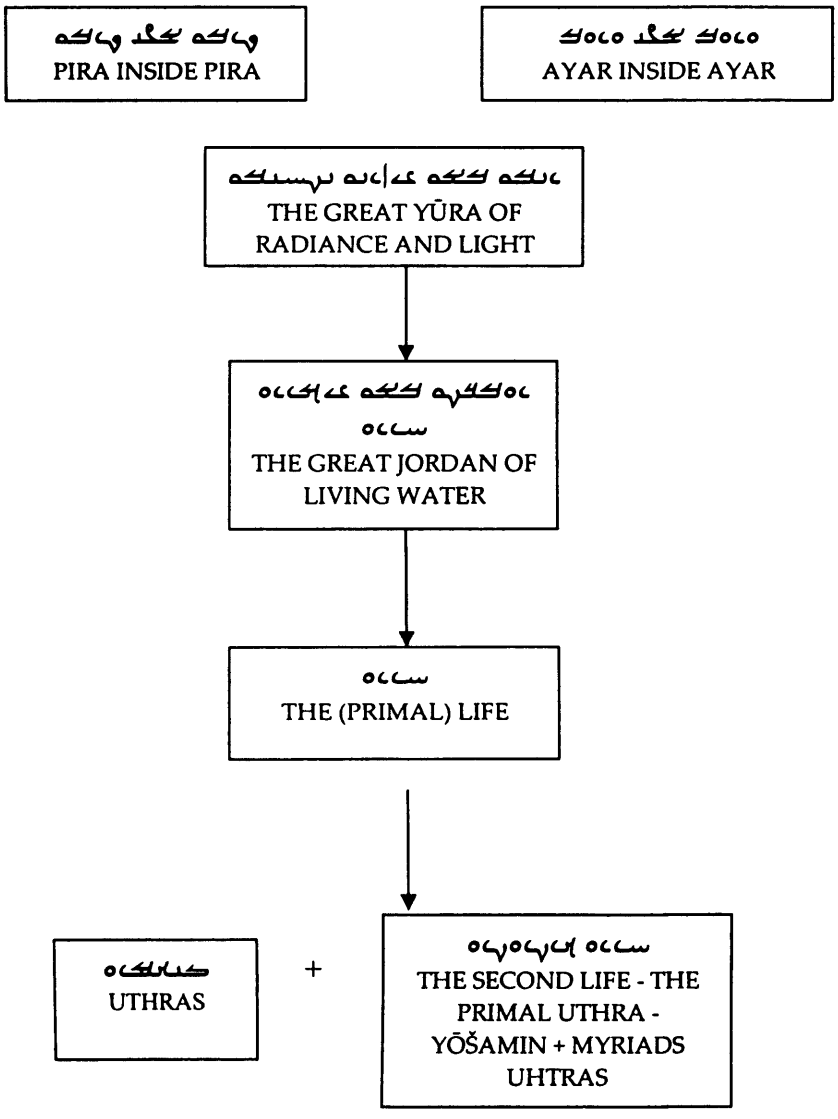
[illegible]

Surprisingly the word *maulānā* occurs in an Isma'īlī text called *Kalām-i-Pīr*. According to this text, "the divinity *maulānā* (our Lord) manifested itself in each generation in the most perfect human form" (Stroumsa, 1984: 111).

456 Adakas-Ziwa is the Light-Adam. "He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal. Adakas is Adam the microcosm's guardian, his soul, his *mana*." (SA p. 35). Adakas is also Adam's instructor who came from the "Secret Place" (Ibid p. 102).

457 GRR p. 120 ff.

TEXT 2
GINZA RABA
PAGE 84
(Chart B)



§ 2.2.7 - Manda d-Hiia (Gnosis of Life)

§ 2.2.7.1 - The True Apostle of Light:

Manda d-Hiia is translated "knowledge of life", i. e. "gnosis". There was a debate on his name and the analogy of "manda" led by Pallis, since "knowledge" in the Mandaean language is ܡܕܝܬܐ *madita*, ܝܕܘܥܘ *iaduta*, ܡܕܥ *madda* or ܡܕܝܗܬܐ *madihta*.[458] Manda d-Hiia is the outstanding figure in the Mandaean faith and the most revered deity.[459] Manda d-Hiia personifies the ܡܢܕܥ *manda* "knowledge" of the great Mandaean deity ܚܝܐ *hiia* the Life.[460] From the course which the Mandaeans followed through history, some scholars went to assume that this sect adopted Manda d-Hiia as a messenger and a redeemer when the Naşoraeans (the early Mandaeans) as part of their polemic against Christianity at the rise of the first millennium.[461] Many texts in the Ginza and in the other Mandaean manuscripts propose a shift from polytheism to Gnosticism has taken place sometime in the period from C.E. 300-600 as suggested by Brandt.[462]

Support for this hypothesis comes from one of the *masiqta* (ascension) hymns; the believers have forsaken images, pictures, idols and gods and have testified to the name of the great strange Life:

---

[458] In some incantations Manda d-Hiia is written with the guttural (ع) ܡܢܕܥ ܚܝܐ Mand'a d-Hiaa (Yamauchi 1967: 235, 241).
[459] Pallis 1926: 146. Abatur (the Second Life) rises from his throne in order to show respect to Manda d-Hiia (GRR 223: 14).
[460] Rudolph 1983, 131.
[461] Brandt believed of two schools of Mandaism: the Old Mandaean School, which lost its authority because of continually new influence especially Christianity; and the New School which he called "teaching of the king of Light" (*Lichtkönigslehre*). This school, he believes, in contrast to the older polytheistic from, is monotheistically oriented, even when marked with dualism. Brandt came to the conclusion that "In the course of the polemic against Christianity and its influence, the "reformer" of the Mandaean theology", the author of the *Lichtkönigslehre* represented a revelational activity of the Mandaean redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāşoraean as a designation for the sect itself" (cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 211f).
[462] Rudolph, HR, 1969: 212.

'This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda d-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood, and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.'[463]

Manda d-Hiia often exchanges places with another light being, his son/brother, Hibil-Ziwa,[464] who descended to the seven layers of the world of darkness and came into conflict with the King of Darkness and obtained ܦܪܘܕܩܐ *prudqa* a "passport"[465] with ܚܬܡܐ *hatma* a seal-impression[466] which enabled him to travel through the World of Darkness and come back to the World of Light.[467] During his journey Hibil-Ziwa could confuse Rūha (the goddess of the underworld) and obtain from her ܓܡܪܐ ܐܡܪܪܐ the *gimra umrara*, the two secrets of the World of Darkness.[468]

---

[463] CP p. 34. (*masiqta* p. 124) Drower's translation, text collated:
ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܫ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܕܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܒܥܝ ܠܟ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܟܪܥܘ ܒܟܥ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܦܫܛܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܪܘܡܐ ܘܬܚܬܐ ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܛܥܝܘܬܐ ܘܣܗܕܘ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܐܬܬܟܪ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܬܦܬܚ ܬܘܒ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܥܘܬܢ ܨܠܘܬܢ ܘܫܓܕܬܢ ܕܢܣܠܩ ܩܕܡ ܚܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܕܢܝܚܐ ܗܘ
[464] Hihil-Ziwa, is the light bearer; a saviour-spirit who descended to the underworld and brought back with him from the "Well of Darkness" the *gimra* (pearl, or: soul) and *mrara* (a sort of herb) which are considered the secrets of the World of Darkness. Cf. the Mandaean scroll *masbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa* "the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa" (*The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*, translated by Drower, Vatican City, 1953).
[465] GRR, p. 168: 25.
[466] GRR, p. 169: 8.
[467] The journey of Hibil-Ziwa reminds us of the journey of Enkidu to the underworld. (GRR, book 5:1)
[468] The meaning of *gimra umrara* is obscure, perhaps indicating two things assuring the stability of the world of darkness (MD, p. 90).

The Mandaeans prayers recited during the rituals usually include the formula, "the name of Life and the name of Manda d̲-Hiia ("Knower of the Life") is pronounced over me." He is the "True Apostle of Light" as he describes himself:

> I am the Apostle of Light whom the Great One sent me into the world. The true Apostle I am, with whom there is no lie. The Chosen with whom there is no lie, there is not with him deficiency or fault. [469] I am apostle of Life, the true one, in whom there is no falsehood. [470]

Many Gnostic sects share the meaning of the apostle/redeemer, with some notable differences. According to the Manichaean cosmogony, the living Father sent his son to redeem the soul when he saw it suffering in the body. The son came and transformed himself into human form and appeared to men as a man. He made "creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessel; this is turned by sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon . . . When the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul." [471]

§ 2.2.7.2 - The Creation of Manda d-Hiia

Three *uthras* (the sons of the Second Life 'Yōšamin') decided to descended below the *hapiqia mia* (streams of water) to create a world of their own and not to

---

[469] GRR p. 79: 2. The text:
ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄ ⱁⱄⱄⱂⱁ ⱁⱄⱄⱏⱏⱄ ⱁⱂⱁⱁⱁⱏⱁ ⱁⱂⱁ ⱄⱁⱁⱏ ⱁⱄⱁ ⱂⱁⱁⱁⱄⱁ ⱁⱄⱄⱂⱁⱁ ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱄⱄ ⱁⱂⱁ ⱄⱁⱁⱏ ⱁⱄⱄⱏⱏⱄ ⱁⱂⱁ ⱄⱁⱁⱏ
ⱄⱏⱄⱄⱁ ⱄⱏⱄⱁⱁⱄ ⱁⱁⱁⱄⱁⱏⱁ ⱁⱄⱄⱏⱏⱄ ⱁⱄⱄⱏⱏⱄ

[470] GRR 79: 79: 21.
[471] Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 183.

mention the name of the Life.[472] The Life complained to the Great Mana who dwells in the Great Pira and requested his counsel. In a countermove to the *uthras*' plan[473], the Great Mana created the astral messenger Kabar Rba or Kabr Ziwa, who is fact Manda d̲-Hiia.[474] It was by the request of the First Life the 'Gnosis of Life' came into being: "I am Manda d̲-Hiia, the emanation (lit. planting) of the Mighty First Life." [475] The Life instructed Manda d̲-Hiia that his creation preceded the creation of the *uthras* and his commission was predestined.[476] In this regard, Jonas writes: "The mission of this transcendent savior begins even before the creation of the world (since the fall of the divine element preceded the creation) and ran parallel with it."[477]

Manda d̲-Hiaa was promoted by the supreme beings of the World of Light and was made one of the Great Ones. He was given authority upon all worlds of Light and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[478] He was the only one worthy of the mission because he was the one who could restrain the renegade *uthras* and set the boundary stones (*kudka*).[479] He was hailed as the "great mirror of the uthras and the lustrous king of the all kings (or: angels)".[480]

---

[472] This is the first rebellious act in the World of Light performed by the Second Life (Yōšamin) and his three sons (one of them is Abatur). This rebellion which caused a great conflict in the Mandaic heavenly world was subdued by Manda d̲-Hiia (GRR p. 85 ff.).
[473] The sons of the Second Life.
[474] GRR pp. 85, 86.
[475] CP, p. 109; Mandaean text pp. 145-6. Drower's translation, text collated:

ⲟⲗⲕⲗⲕⲗⲕ ⲟⲗⲗⲥⲁ ⲩⲗⲕⲗⲩⲥⲩ ⲕⲗⲕ ⲟⲗⲗⲥⲁ ⲟⲕⲩⲟⲕⲗ ⲥⲇ ⲟⲩⲟ

[476] GRR, p. 89.
[477] Jonas, 1958: 45.
[478] GRR, p. 89.
[479] GRR, p. 87
[480] DY, p. 239, the text:

ⲟⲗⲩⲟⲕⲗ ⲩⲥⲩⲩⲗⲥⲁ ⲟⲗⲟⲫ ⲟⲩⲟⲕⲗ ⲟⲕⲗⲕⲗⲕ ⲩⲟⲩⲟ ⲟⲕⲕⲗ ⲟⲕⲗⲟⲩ

§ 2.2.7.3 - Manda d-Hiia, the Mandaean Redeemer: [481]

The Mandaeans' concept of the redeemer is not that of Christianity. The Mandaean Redeemer does not descend to earth and redeem his followers through agony and sufferings. The Mandaean salvation, like the other Gnostic beliefs, is focused on the release of the soul, the *mana* divine particle of man, from the material world and subsequently joins its ܕܡܘܬܐ *dmuta* counterpart in the World of Light.[482] This process is materialized, according to their faith, by means of *gnosis* (knowing) the Life and his messenger Manda d̲-Hiia (the Knower of Life) and through the cults of repeated *maṣbuta* (baptism) in *yardina* "Jordan" [483] and *masiqta* (the ascension of the soul).[484] The Redeemer's duty is to awaken the souls to their heavenly origin and to provide them with necessary "gnosis" or "knowledge" to serve as "passwords" for their heavenly re-ascent.[485] Mandaeanism professed to bring salvation through knowledge; ignorance is a sin:

> Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light.[486]

Among the Mandaeans redeeming knowledge has been personalized in the figure of Manda d̲-Hiia.[487] The Redeemer is also "the good shepherd that leads his sheep to their fold."[488] The souls, that sinned because of the wicked angels, ܐܠܡܐ

---

[481] The Mandaeans believe in another redeemer; Anuš (the Biblical Enosh).
[482] Stroumsa, 1984, 1.
[483] Buckley, HR, 1989: 23-34.
[484] Rudolph, HR 1969: 230.
[485] Yamauchi, 1970, 29.
[486] GRR, p. 395: 20. The Text:
ܫܡܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܝܗܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܢܘܗܪ ܒܐܬܪ ܡܢܘܗܪ ܫܡܝ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܝܗܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢܘܗܪ ܒܐܬܪ ܡܢܘܗܪ ܫܡܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܢܘܗܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢܘܗܪ ܒܐܬܪ ܡܢܘܗܪ ܫܡܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܢܘܗܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢܘܗܪ
[487] Rudolph, 1983: 131.
[488] GRR, 205: 22. The text:
ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܡܫܒܩ ܠܗܠ ܥܢܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܘܐܦܩ ܠܗ ܠܢܘܪܐ ܕܚܝܐ

malakia, of this world, will appeal to Manda d̲-Hiia to save them from their sins and trespasses: "Manda d̲-Hiia, save us the darkness of this world in which we are cast!"[489] We also read in another passage the pleadings of the Mandaeans to Manda d̲-Hiia for the salvation of their souls: "Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtues and not as vicious before thee, Manda d̲-Hiia."[490] It is only when the *nišimta* (soul) is enlightened by the "Gnosis of Life", then can return to the World of Light.[491] At the end of the world Manda d̲-Hiia shall reveal himself to sons of men and redeem them from darkness:

> A call rang out over the whole world, the splendor departed from every city. Manda d̲-Hiia revealed himself to the children of men and redeemed them from darkness into light.[492]

He is ܒܪ ܚܝܐ *bar hiia* the Son of Life who lifts up the souls of the faithful to the place where the Life is enthroned with his sweet voice.[493] Widengren says that the term "Son of Life" is found in the Acts of Thomas in praise of the Apostle of Life ܡܫܝܚܐ, "Christ".[494]

Manda d̲-Hiia is identified with Hermetic Man-Shepherd (*Poimandres*), Mind of all-masterhood (See Deutsch, p. 1999: 166). In this respect Drower writes: "The Hermetic writings have so much which corresponds closely to religious conceptions familiar to them in Naṣoraean gnosis that they would readily have identified the Hermes of the *Poimandres* as their own *Manda d̲-Hiia* or *Mara d̲-Rabuta*" (SA p. 112).

[489] GRR, 303: 17. The text:

ܒܪ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܒܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܢܚܢܢ ܒܗ ܫܪܝܢ

[490] CP, p. 34; hymn no. 35 of the *masiqta* (ascension) book, Drower's translation, text collated:

ܒܪ ܚܝܐ ܕܚܛܝܬܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܙܟܘ ܒܥܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܛܝ ܒܥܠܡ ܐܢܬ ܢܩܝܡ

[491] Rudolph, 1983: 358.

[492] GRR, 207: 14. The text:

ܒܪ ܚܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܝܩܪܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܪ ܚܝܐ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܦܪܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܠܢܗܝܪܐ

[493] GRR, book 9:2, book 16:10.

[494] Widengren, 1946: 20.

§ 2.2.7.4 - Manda d-Hiia and John the Baptist:

Manda d-Hiia appeared to John the Baptist as a child. As a miracle, Manda d-Hiia caused the Jordan to flood fiercely, then made it go dry. When John the Baptist beheld the miracles he believed in Manda d-Hiia (as a saviour). Then, he ordered the waters to return to the Jordan. All the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky returned to Jordan, too, reciting praise to Manda d-Hiia. At the end of the episode John the Baptist requested Manda d-Hiia to save his soul. Manda d-Hiia released John the Baptist from his physical form and led his soul to the World of Light.[495] Strangely, we read in the Ginza and in the book of *masiqta* (ascension) that Manda d-Hiia appeared in Jerusalem: "Manda d-Hiia appeared to the Jews (or: in Judea) like a Vine in Jerusalem."[496] He is the one who can open the doors of *kušṭa* (truth), reveals the mysteries and performs miracles in Jerusalem:

> You are the healer above all means of healing, a Lifter above all Up-lifters, a Radiance above all radiances and a Light above all lights, for it is you who opens doors of truth and reveals mysteries of wisdom and shows forth miracles in Jerusalem.[497] You confide demons and devils and frighten away the gods from their high places. Great is your name and praised is your name. You are the counterpart of Life, for you were in existence before all. [498]

---

[495] GRR book 5: 4. This picture of Manda d-Hiia as the young lad ܐܠܗ ܥܠܝܥ *iada zuṭa* (GRR p. 220: 3) is similar to Seth the savior-child דרדקא in the Manichean, the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects (Stroumsa, 1984, 77 ff.).

[496] GRR, p. 206: 3. The text:

ܫܠܡܟܫܬܐ ܥܠܫܥܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܫܘܥܝܐ ܥܠܟܠ ܥܫܐ ܒܫܐ

[497] The Mandaean "redeemer" and his appearance in Jerusalem was part "polemic against Christianity and its influence, and the "reformer of the Mandaean theology, the "author of the *Lichtkönigslehre*," represented a revelational activity of the Mandaenan redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāṣōraean as a designation for the sect itself" (Rudolph, 1969: 212). On the other hand Stroumsa believes that "Biblical references to the Holy Land were part of Gnostic imagery" (Stroumsa, 1984: 119).

[498] CP, p. 36. The text:

ܥܠܥܫܐ ܟܫܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܥܠܥܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܟܫܠܟܟ ܥܠܥܫܐ ܥܠܟܟܝ ܫܟܫܠܟ ܥܠܥܫܐ ܥܫܐ ܫܟܐ
ܫܟܫܟܟܟܠ ܥܠܫܟܝ ܫܟܟܝܫ ܥܟܐ ܫܠܠܟܝ ܠܠܩ ܥܟܝ ܥܠܫܩܫܐ ܥܟܝ
ܟܫܩܝ ܩܟܝ ܩܟܐ ܩܟܐ ܫܟܝ ܟܟܟܟܟ ܟܝ ܫܠܠ ܫܟܟܝ ܥܠܟܫ ܟܫܠ ܫܟܟ ܫܟܟܟܠ
ܥܟܟܟܠ ܟܟܝ ܫܟܫܐ ܫܐ ܩܟܝ

§ 2.2.7.5 - Manda d-Hiia the Warrior:

§ 2.2.7.5.1 - Manda d-Hiia's Weapons:

Manda d̲-Hiaa, the valiant *uthra*, was the well prepared and armed apostle, who triumphed over the powers of darkness.[499] He is the heavenly warrior whom the gods in all the worlds feared: "When Manda d̲-Hiia appeared in the whole worlds, all the gods were aghast." [500] In order to fulfill his mission against the evil, he was equipped by the Great One with the following weapons besides the army of *uthras*:

(1) Radiance and Light. (2) a great attire (3) the *margna* (staff) of Living Water (4) the wreath of the Living Flame (5) the armor of the Great Ones[501] (6) A mace (club)[502] (7) a veil (net?),[503] and (8) a robe of the great ones.[504]

§ 2.2.7.5.2 - Manda d-Hiia Restrains the Rebellious 'Uthras:

When the Second Life and his sons, the *uthras*, determined to create a world of their own, the Great Life considered this intention as an act of rebellion. In order to foil the *uthra's* plot, the Great Ones commissioned Manda d̲-Hiia to reveal the rebels' conspiracy: "Rise above the *uthras* and see what they are planning and what they intend, they who say, "We will create a world". 'You have seen that they have forsaken

---

[499] Cf. The Coptic Primeval Man-Redeemer who 'clad himself in his amour and set forth to do battle with cohorts of matter, of darkness, of evil.' See Widengren 1965: 49, 50.

[500] Ibid p. 295: 14. The text:

ܐܠܟܣܐܘܟ ܟܗܒ ܘܐܡܠ ܒܝܠܣܒ ܘܐܟܠ ܟܝܠܣܒ ܐܠܟܣܐ ܟܗܒ ܐܠܟ ܟܝܠ

[501] GRR, p. 96. Cf. Marduk weapons: a scepter, a throne, a royal robe, a bow and arrows, a mace, a net. 'They gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[502] GRR, p. 108: 15.

[503] GRR, p. 198: 7.

[504] GRR, P. 99: 15. The garment of the messenger Manda d̲-Hiia has such magic powers that the demons form a secret conspiracy in order to take hold of it (GRR, p. 299: 20):

ܒܥܠ ܗܐ ܠܟܢܗ ܥܠܠ ܟܐ ܐܟܟܠ ܒܗ ܒܝ ܟܗ ܒܝ ܐܟܟܠ ܒܗ ܒܝ ܟܗ ܒܝ

the House of the Life and turned their faces to the place of Darkness.[505] Manda d-Hiaa was charged to bring order among the *uthras* and deliver them from failure. The Great One commanded him: *'zl l mardia dhšhka d'lan lbiš mithašbia* "March against the rebels of darkness who think out evil against us!"[506]

It is notable in tractate three of the Ginza, that the sequence of Manda d-Hiia's mission was interrupted; instead of descending towards the *hapiqia maia* (the streams of water) he went down towards the World of Darkness; and instead of restraining the defector *uthras* he defeated the evil powers of the World of Darkness. This confusion can be solved when the story is traced in the other chapters of the Ginza as well as in the other Mandaean writings such as *draša d-iahia* "the Book of John." In book 15 of the Ginza we read that the Great Ones commanded Manda d-Hiia to descend to the Second Life 'Yōšamin's abode to deter him and the rebellious *uthras* from their evil plans and to help him in accomplishing his work in a perfect order:

> For what reason the King of Light created you, and made you a king in Ayar (ether)? Why don't you go to the house of Yōšamin and arrange his works in perfect order? Yōšamin should know that the strength of the Life is greater than his futile strength.[507]

In another passage we find another reading:

> Then the Life called Yawar-Ziwa [508] on whose name nine hundred thousand *uthras* emerged. Then he created a form and gave it to him and said to him, 'Go, meet the Second (Life) with this form and lets us

---

[505] GRR, p. 86.

[506] GRR, p. 96: 16. Cf. "They (the gods) gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!"" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[507] GRR, book 15: 16, p. 424: 5. The text:

[508] Yawar-Ziwa is a being of light acquainted with Manda d-Hii and his son Hibil-Ziwa.

find out what he will say and what he will propose. He went to his (Yōšamin's) presence and spoke to him, "O, Yōšamin, son of Dmut-Hiia, my father sent me hither". . . . By the (power) of the form which the Life gave to Yawar, all the *škinas* of Yōšamin trembled and quaked and his throne degraded and gave way unto downfall. His women who were standing at his presence were terrified. .[509]

Manda d̲-Hiia arrives at the house of Yōšamin and the planets fell on their faces:

He was instructed by the wisdom of the Great One, and set forth and came towards Yōšamin. He stood on the vault of the house of Yōšamin, and he covered his gleam with his radiance.(?) He covered his gleam with his radiance, and an uproar ruptured in his house. An uproar ruptured in his house and the Planets fell on their faces.[510]

After all, it seems that everything went well and Manda d̲-Hiia was successful in his mission to Yōšmain and he could achieve his goal in a perfect way:

I came to the world which the Second (Life) created,
from which all error and deficiency came into being
I uttered the voice of Life,
and planted the planting of the Great (One).
I planted the planting of Life,
and I chose the elect ones; one by one I chose them,
and I explained to them and taught them concerning the goodness.

---

[509] GRR, book 14, p. 356: 17 f. For the detailed battles between Yōšamin and the battalions of Light see the first four chapters of the Book of John. The text:
[illegible]

[510] GRR book 15: 16, p.426: 12. The text:
[illegible]

I made their eyes behold the place in which the Great (One) sit (or: enthroned).
I taught them, through the secret chants and recitations,
the prayers and praise that we possess.
I made them part of the construction of the Life,
and made them join the union of the Life.
I enlightened them with a sublime enlightenment that has no end,
and I showed them the form which was (brought) from the concealed place.
When the elected ones saw it, their aching hearts were healed.
I uttered a proclamation,
and I straightened up the trivial devils.[511]

§ 2.2.7.5.3 - Manda d-Hiia's encounter with the Powers of Darkness:

The World of Light realized that the World of Darkness was conspiring against it; it realized that Darkness expanded and became the fullness of the world (or: he became Pleroma of the cosmos).[512]

From the day when the Evil (one) began to think, the evil was shaped
in him. He fell into a great wrath and ventured a war with the Light.[513]
The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels.[514]

What caused Darkness to mount up its offence against the World of Light is the envious nature of darkness which is full of hatred and conflict.[515]

---

[511] GRR p. 447: 1 f. The text:
ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲥⲁⲟⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ
ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲙ ⲩⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁⲣⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁⲣⲓ
ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲣⲟⲙⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲟ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁ ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲩⲟ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩⲥⲁⲟ ⲙⲁⲁⲗ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲙⲁⲩⲟ
ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲉ ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲩⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲗⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲥⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲙⲁⲁⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩⲟ
ⲙⲩ ⲩⲁⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲟ ⲙⲁⲁⲩⲟ ⲩⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁ ⲁⲗⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲁⲟ ⲉⲩⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲁⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩⲥⲁⲟ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲉ
ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲣⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩⲟ ⲁⲩⲗⲁⲗⲟⲙ ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲟⲁⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲁⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲩⲁⲙⲁ

[512] GRR book 3, p. 99: 3 f.

[513] Cf. Mani's own writings about the notion of the rebellion of the powers of Darkness against the Kingdom of Light: "they plotted against the Light in order to mix themselves with it" (Widengren, 1946: 44).

[514] DY, p. 48: 1 f. The text:
ⲩⲁⲙⲟ ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲩ ⲩⲁⲓ ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲁⲁ ⲁⲓⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲓⲁⲙⲁ ⲩⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲟⲁⲁⲁ ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲙⲁⲁⲁ ⲩⲁⲓ
ⲗⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲙⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ

[515] Jonas stated that the "Darkness had first to reach its own outer limits, and to these it was pushed at some time in the course of the internal warfare in which the destructive passion of

Therefore, the higher deity summoned Manda d̲-Hiia and addressed him saying:

> "Arise, go to the House of the Seven (planets), the idle Rebels of Darkness![516] Idle are the gloomy Rebels of Darkness, and there is no light among them."[517]

Manda d̲-Hiia had some hesitation towards the mission, but after a prolonged persuasion by the Life it seems that he agreed to confront the powers of Darkness under some conditions. In response to his conditions, the higher deities of the World of Light promoted him and made him the "the King of the *uthras*", the "Lord of the *Kušṭa*' and the "Treasurer"". He was also given the authority upon all the world of Light and upon all the *škinas* and also upon the underworlds of Darkness.[518]

Manda d̲-Hiia was engaged in an astral war with the evil powers of the World of Darkness before the creation of the cosmos. Before he descended to the underworld, Manda d̲-Hiia did some reconnaissance of the dwelling of evil ones. He saw the furnaces of the consuming flame which was full of destroyers and dragons. He saw the rebellious monsters plotting wickedly against the good ones and forging weapons. He saw the "angels of that place" inflamed against each other. He saw Rūha Qadašta sitting there with her *humurtas* (female spirits) practicing false magic. He

---

its members was ceaselessly engaged. For the nature of Darkness is hate and strife, and it must fulfill this nature against itself until the encounter with the Light presents an external and better object" (Jonas 1958: 213).

[516] The term ܡܪܕܝܐ *mardia* "rebels" is found in the Manichean writings extant in Syriac ܡܪܘܕܐ *maruda*. Widengren 1946: 43.

[517] GRL p. 68: 17. The text:
ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܫܒܥܐ ܡܪܕܝܐ ܒܛܠܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܒܛܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܡܪܕܝܐ ܒܛܠܐ ܘܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪܐ

[518] GRR pp. 86-87 Cf. Marduk's conditions, that "if he was to champion the gods they must delegate to him their authority, he must have supreme command" before confronting Ti'āmat (Jacobsen 1976: 147).

saw the arrogant King of Darkness challenging whoever claims that he was stronger than him.[519]

§ 2.2.7.5.4 - Mandada d-Hiia's Battle with the King of Darkness ('Ur)[520]:

When the Leviathan of the World of Darkness decided to swallow the world in order to cast down the Great Ones from their thrones, Manda d-Hiia appeared to him in the extensive *lbuša* garment of the Great Ones *dnpiš umitar mn almea* "which was more immense and surpassing from the worlds".[521] Manda d-Hiia showed him *margina dmia hiia* the staff of Living Water,[522] by which the rebels were crushed down. He showed him *klil išata haita*, "the crown of the living fire", which instilled terror into demons. The King of Darkness rose up and annihilated the whole world; he contained it with his strength and *upalga dpumh ubarqa qbar* buried half of his mouth in the earth. He swallowed the black waters and gulped down all the demons and *dewis* and *liliths* and stood *riqan* "empty" (or: "naked") in the world. Manda d-Hiia approached the monster armed with strength of the Great One and some of his breath reached his garment, but the burning flame of the King of Darkness was extinguished and his navel fell upon the gate (lit: artery) of darkness and all darkness

---

[519] GRR p. 97.

[520] Lady Drower was told by the Mandaean priests, during her meetings with them in Iraq, that "Ur is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmament and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purification of *maṭarata* (purgatory) are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers" (MII p. 253, n. 3).

[521] The garment has secret powers against the enemies and confers superior power on the wearer and therefore it is a weapon. The garment of Manda d-Hiia has such magic powers that he could, with his other weapons, subdue the powers of Darkness Zaehner 1955: 118.

[522] Cf. the cedar staff 'the darling of the great gods' in the old Mesopotamian legends. The staff is the 'symbol of Life' and the sign of kingship which contains magical powers. (Widengren 1950: 8, 9). The Assyrians called the staff '*kakku*' a weapon which is considered as divine symbol at the same time (Chicago Assyrian Dict., p. 50).

was formed from him. Manda d-Hiia seized his eyes and wrapped him with four shawls. He fettered the Evil's heart, dissolved his joints and crushed his liver. He folded his stomach with his bowels, wrapped his navel with a veil, tied a knot around his heart and cast poison in his entrails. He bound the King of Darkness with a fetter and put a muzzle on his mouth. The King of Darkness became tongue tied and retreated to his *kanna* place crying, "Alas, alas onto myself!"[523] Manda d-Hiia did not pay attention to the Evil's begging to forgive him and have mercy on him; instead he imprisoned him in his place and appointed rude giant guards to watch over him.[524]

When the King of Darkness tried to get rid of his fetters, Manda d-Hiia rose by the powers of the Life and created an iron wall around him. He tied seven knots around him and wrapped him with twelve veils. He bound him with the great voice and fettered him with a fetter so the seven *zahriria* flashes (or: flames) departed him. He flung his club and struck him and split his head. He made him shriek like a woman and made him weep like a child. He made dung into his food and urine into his drink and extinguished his devouring and destroying fire. He deprived him from his lust (or: greed) and clothed him with wrath. When Manda d-Hiia was triumphed he erected a throne for the good ones and set up a glamorous light beside it.[525]

[523] GRR p. 98 ff.
[524] GRR. P. 102.
[525] GRR p. 108.

§ 2.2.7.5.5 - Mandada d-Hiia Thwarts Rūha's Plans to Seduce Adam:

Rūha[526] and her retinue, the planets and the demons, began forging plans to capture Adam and keep him in their world: "We will entrap and catch Adam and detain him with us in the world!" [527] They planned to entrap him with horns and flutes and draw him into their congregation.[528] They proposed to arrange a feast and practice *razia ḏrhamta* the "secrets of love", Rūha and her party went up the Mount Carmel and set up their assembly and began practicing the secrets of love and said: "We will perform the secret of love with myrtle and entrap the whole world. We will perform the mystery of love with wine and entrap the world by our drunkenness. We will perform the mystery of love with drinking water." [529] They took the living water and poured turbid water into it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust, through which all the worlds are inflamed. They practiced on him seduction, by which all the worlds are seduced. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The worlds are made drunk by it and turn their faces to the sea of Sup.[530]

Adam, the son of Adam, was inflicted with *hasiruta* "blunder" and his eyes found no sleep. He left his mother, *Hawa* (Eve) and turned his back to his brothers

---

[526] Rūha, the queen of Darkness (see §2.3.9).
[527] GRR p. 124: 21 f.
[528] GRR p. 125: 6 f.
[529] GRR p. 130
[530] GRR p. 132. The terms "drunkenness" and "intoxication" in Gnosticism refer to "ignorance" which is apposed by "sobriety" and "knowledge". Jonas believes that the term "intoxication" requires a special comment. He wrties, "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understand by the term 'world'. It is induced by the "wine of ignorance" which the world everywhere proffers to man." He adds, "the ignorance of drunkenness is the soul's ignorance of itself, its origin and its situation in the alien world." To support this case, he cited the following from the Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8: "From the Lord's spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity" (Jonas 1958: 71f.). ܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܣܘܦ *iama rba ḏ-sup* (often) the Great Ocean of destruction (MD, p. 323).

while they were asleep. He climbed the walls of the fortress and headed towards the Rūha's assembly. Rūha welcomed him warmly and she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced and all the Planets started to serve him.[531] They offered him a drink, once, twice, and three times until he was intoxicated and his body desired dance. Then Rūha took him by the hand *unapš̲ šalt̲ zaniuta* "and he desired to fornicate with her".[532]

When he held her and kissed her and was about to sleep with her, Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to him in a cloud of radiance. He made Adam hear an overwhelming voice and made his heart fall from its support. He undid the spells of Rūha and Adam felt ashamed.[533] Manda d̲-Hiia shone in his pure garment and took away the secrets of Rūha and her party. He revealed their mysteries, discredited their speech and belied their oaths. He threw Rūha off her throne and held her back with a camel-bridle. He threw her down, struck her with his scourge and split her head open. He bound her and tied her up to the heart of heavens.[534] He grasped Šamiš[535] by the secret things (genitals) and made him like a woman. He made Yorba a sissy and struck Sin with his scourge. He seized *kukba biša* the evil planet and hurled him down.[536] He struck Bel (Jupiter) and removed the crown from his head. He smote Nirig (Mars) with his mace

---

[531] GRR, p. 136.
[532] GRR, p. 137.
[533] GRR, p. 138.
[534] GRR, p. 139.
[535] Šamiš, Akk. šamšu(m) sun-god, sun (A Concise Dict. of Akk., p. 354), Aram שמשא شمسا Masc., Ar. شمس Fem. (see also MD, p. 443). In one of the Mandaic incantations, Šamaš is described as the "Blind One who is over the spheres, and Lame One who is over the chariots" Yamauchi 1967: 243, text 22: 131-133).
[536] *kukba biša*: an evil star. כוכבא בישא Mercury in the Jewish literature. Lidzbarski stated: "*Man beachte, daß* כוכבא *in der jüdischen Literatur schlechthin den Merkur bezeichnet*" (Lidzbarski, Ginza, 1925: n. 10 p. 132).

and amputated his limbs. He dealt with the planets who became arrogant towards the family of Life and exposed their follies to world.[537]

§ 2.2.7.6 - The Life Praises Manda d-Hiia for his Victory:

The Life thanked Manda d̲-Hiia for his distinguished triumph over the King of Darkness and the other forces of Darkness and bestowed on him more glory than ever before. The Life hailed the strength and courage of the heavenly warrior who could valiantly defeat the devouring fire:

> The Life thanked me, and gave me more radiance (or: glory) and spoke to me, "*Kušṭa* preserves you, good one, and preserve the word you have spoken." The Life spoke blissfully to the *uthras* and said: "Hail the strength of the man who could cure the water with fire. Hail the strength of the man against whom the fire sinned not." The *Uthra* shone with his radiance, and trod out a path for the perfect ones and rewarded them fully.[538]

"At the end of the ceremony", the Life embraced and kissed the Uthra, and handed him the 'Kušṭa' like the great ones. Once again the Life and the rest of the *uthras* praised Manda d̲-Hiia for his achievement by hailing him: *abad ukašar qruia l'uthra d̲kul d̲tibad tikšar* "He acted and seceded!" they hailed him, "Whatever you do you shall succeed!" [539]

---

[537] GRR pp. 140,141. Both narrations of Manda d̲-Hiia's triumph over the powers of darkness hold traces of similar myths such as the Ugaritic myth of Baal who crushed Lotan, the swift serpent. The King of Darkness ('Ur) who was defeated by Manda d̲-Hiia is similar to Leviathan, the monster, which was defeated by Yahweh at creation (Isaiah 27: 1) (Ringgren 1973: 149). Many resemblances are also found in the epic of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat (Jacobsen 1976: 175 ff.).

[538] GRR p. 109: 10 f. Cf. the Ugaritic message from Mot to Baal praising Baal's triumph over the seven-headed serpent "Lotan" (Ringgren 1973: 148-9).

[539] GRR 109: 21 f.

§ 2.2.7.8 - Manda d-Hiia, the Conjugal Advisor:

When Ptahil, with the help of Rūha and her retinue the Planets, finished creating Adam and Eve, Manda d-Hiia approached Adam in a corporeal form lest not to frighten him. He sat beside Adam and sprinkled the splendor of the Great Mana over him. Mand d-Hiia began to instruct him, with a sublime voice, and awakened his heart from his sleep.[540]

Manda d-Hiia thwarted the evil goals of the demons who intended to draw Adam to their congregation and destroyed their evil plans against him. Manda d-Hiia and the other *uthras* arranged a great wedding for Adam, in which they recited hymns and liturgies. They disgraced the words of Rūha and suppressed her seditious call. They eliminated the evil of the Planets and brought all the monsters to naught. Manda d-Hiia and his company of the *uthras* set up the root of life, and the Life triumphed and brought victory to Adam's race. They remained with Adam until Hawa (Eve) was in labour. Manda d-Hiia played the part of *sabus 'nšia* (conjugal instructor?) who instructed Adam how to marry a woman. Manda d-Hiia said: "Let the race of the Life be bountiful! The race of the Life will be bountiful, and from them the world will come to life. The world will come to life from them, and the Life will show them his gratitude, deliver them, and raise them from this world of the evil ones." [541]

Manda d-Hiia established Adam on top of the building like the great ones, and made Hawa (Eve) in the shape of the cloud of light. Manda d-Hiia appointed *uthras*

---

[540] in DY we read: "they created a messenger and sent him to the head of generation. He called out into the unrest of the world. Adam, who was lying down, awakened." (DY, p. 47) Rudolph believes that the "Gnostic view of the world demands revelation which comes outside the cosmos and displays the possibility of deliverance; for of himself man cannot escape from his prison in which according to this religion he is shut up. He is not only imprisoned but "asleep" or 'drunken'" (Rudolph, 1983: 119). For more details concerning the "call" and the "awakening", see Jonas 1958: pp. 80 ff.

[541] GRR pp. 127-128.

to look after Adam and he was their leader. He began to teach Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) wonderful hymns and the right rituals of *masiqta* "Ascension". He taught them prayers to the Life in order to strengthen their faith. He said to them: "You are raised and established in the place where the good ones are established. Amongst the Manas of Light you will be established." Manda d̲-Hiia sat and taught them like a teacher who taught his novice. He prayed for them and blessed them with the bless of the Great Ones. He prayed to Adam to rise and see the world of Light.

When Rūha discovered that all her evil plans were in vain, she decided to leave the scene with her retinue, but only to indulge themselves in new evil plans against the Messenger of Life and Adam.[542]

[542] GRR, pp. 127-129.

§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

In the third theogonic version the following variants are found in addition to the two preceding theogonic texts. In this text the Life instructs Manda d̲-Hiia concerning the creation. He informs him: (1) when the ܦܝܪܐ *pira* Fruit was inside the *pira*, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ *malka d̲-nhūra* (the King of Light) came into being. (2) From the King of Light, the Great Radiant Ayar (Ether) came into being and (3) from the Great Radiant Ayar, ܫܬܐ ܗܝܬܐ *'šata haita* (the Living Fire) came into being (4) By the power of the King of Light, the Life, fruit and Jordan came into being and (5) from the living water (of the Jordan), the Life came into being (6) all the *'uthras* came into being (Chart C).

In this version of creation we note that the main creator is ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ *malka d̲-nhūra* the King of Light and not the Mana, and by his power the Life came into being. Also a new element is taking part in the process of creation. It is the ܫܬܐ ܗܝܬܐ *'šata haita* the Living Fire from which ܢܗܘܪܐ *nhūra* (the light) emanated:

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was in the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[543] From the great and glorious King of Light the great ether of radiance came into being. From the great glorious King of Light Ayar Ziwa Rba ܐܝܪ ܙܝܘܐ ܪܒܐ (the Great Radiant Ayar) came into being. From Ayar Ziwa Rba the living fire ܫܬܐ ܗܝܬܐ *'šata haita*

[543] In the Gnostic (Mandaic) dualism there are two rival kings: *malka d̲-nhura* (the king of light) and *malka d̲-hšuka* (the king of darkness). Cf. Mazdaean cosmology: "In the beginning Ohrmazd (the Spirit of Good) was on high and dwelt in the Endless Light: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom which some call Religion (*dēn*). Ahriman (the Spirit of Evil) was in the depths and dwelt in the endless Darkness: he was slow in knowledge and his will was to do harm. Between the kingdoms of light and darkness the Void which some call Vāy" (Zaehner 1955: 91, cited from *Greater Bundahišn*).

was brought into being.[544] From the living fire, the light ܢܗܘܪܐ *nhūra* came into being. By the power of the King of Light, Life came into being and the great fruit. The great fruit came being, and in it the Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being, there came into being the living water. The radiant and resplendent water came into being, and from the living water, I, the Life, came into being. I, the Life, came into being, and then all the *uthras* came into being.[545]

§ 2.3.1 - The King of Light:

The King of Light is not mentioned in the opening of the prayers in the different chapters of the Manadaean scriptures. It is the Life and Manda d-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) who enjoy this privilege. The King of Light has no role in the Mandaean rituals and rarely mentioned in their scrolls and he is mentioned only once in tractate III (The Story of Creation) of the Ginza. But the King of Light remains a major player in the dualist system of Mandaic Gnosticism.[546] Whether the Mandaeans represented the "King of Light" as their "one god" to prove to the Moslems, after their invasion to Iraq in the sixth century, that they were monotheist in order to avoid either converting into Islam or put to death,[547] remains an issue which needs to be

---

[544] GRR p. 91: 17 f.

[545] GRR pp. 91: 17 ff.

[546] The Manicheans believed that the "King of the Paradise of Light", who is God Most High, brought the revelation to Mani when he was twelve years old. Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, Beirut (1994); English translation: Dodge, L., London (1970) p. 774:

فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة اتاه الوحي، على قوله، من ملك جنان النور، وهو الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان اطلك الذي جاءه بالوحي يسمى التوم، وهو بالنبطية، ومعناه: القرين، فقال له اعتزل هذه اطلة، فلست من اهلها، وعليك بالنزاهة وترك الشهوات، ولم يأذن لك ان تظهر لحداثة سنك، فلما اتم له أربع وعشرون سنة اتاه التوم فقال: قد حان لك ان تخرج فتنادي بأمرك.

[547] All none Moslems had to prove to the Moslem invaders that they were people of the book. All "infidels" had to either convert to Islam or put to death. Some sects preferred to follow the *Taqia*; that is pretend to be people of the book in order to avoid certain death. The *Taqia* (مبدأ التقية) was originated from Islam itself and means "hypocritical" or "prevention". It is a

investigated, as "the development of Mandaeism still remains one of the central problems of the history of religion." [548]

On the other hand, the Mandaean scriptures describe the King of Light as anterior to all the mysteries – the Jordan, radiance, light and air and beams of light, and the crown, and *kušṭa* (covenant), *pihta* (sacred bread) and the myrtle wreath – each mystery is more revered and sublime than any one of its companions.[549] He is situated in the lofty north,[550] strong, beautiful, and glorious, the origin of all luminous beings and father of all *uthras*.[551] He is the true deity, the lofty king whose powers are endless and infinite. No death comes near him and fadedness does not touch his nature:

> The great Lord of all kings: nothing was when he was not and nothing would be were he not to be; death is not imposed on him and evanescence means nothing to him. His light illuminates and his radiance irradiates all the worlds, and the kings who stand before him and shine in their radiance and in the great light which rests upon them. He gave them prayer and praise, which settled in their hearts, those who stand in the clouds of light.[552]

---

precautionary principle in Islam and dictates that the Moslem is allowed to lie in order to protect himself from any damage might be incurred on him by the enemy if he tells the truth.

[548] Macuch, R., from the preface of *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* by Buckley, J., American Oriental Society (1993).

[549] ATŠ, pp. 197-98. The text:

[550] According to the Mandaeans the locus of the "realm of Light" is to the north. In book 12: 7 of the Ginza we read: "All the world calls the north a highland. For the world of darkness lie in the lowland of the South . . . Whose dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons." (MII p. 9, GRR pp. 340-41) The text:

[551] GRR p.3: 17 – 3: 25. The text:

[552] GRR pp 2: 13 – pp 3: 3). The text:

The Mandaeans believe that stars and planets contain supernatural powers (spirits) which affect the destinies of mankind and these powers are obedient to *Malka d-Nhūra* the King of Light.[553] The Mandaeans personify the light by the great light spirit *Malka d-Nhūra* surrounded by countless numbers of *melki* (kings; beings of light).[554]

> The King is delighted with the children of light. He calls one (of them), and a thousand answer him. By his word he planted *uthras*, and by the word of his moth he made the perfect raising. King of all the *uthras* and *škinas*, great crown at the top of the heights, gentle one, who subdue powerful, might, that restrain the rebellious.[555]

> The sparkles of his crown flash all around and rays of radiance, of light, and of glory issue from his face and between the leaves of his wreath. All the *uthras* and kings, all the worlds (beings) stand there in prayer and praise that sublime King of Light.[556]

No carpenter has built his throne and builder built his house. No one can visualize the nature of Malka *d-Nhūra* "the King of Light" and no one can comprehend the great Light. His sacred name is hidden from everyone, and no one can call him by his real name:

> No human carpenters constructed the throne beneath him; no master-builder in clay built the houses of his throne. He is King from the very beginning, whose kingdom lasts for ever and never passes away.[557]

---

[553] MII p. xviii.
[554] Ibid xxi.
[555] GRR 8: 5 – 11). The text:
[556] GRR pp 4: 19 – pp 4: 24. The text:
[557] GRR, p. 7: 5. The text:

> There is no name like his name, and there is no one that can name him by his (real) name, there is no one that can name him by his (real) title (or: nature).[558]

§ 2.3.2 - ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ Ziwa uNhūra Radiance and Light:

Radiance is the active and the male power of light,[559] which accompanied the great Manas in their first emanation.[560] Radiance in 'the mystical teachings or inner gnosis of Mandaeans' represent the male factor, "whereas *nhura* light represent its female complement."[561] Radiance is considered the ancient Primal Father and referred to as pure "gold", where as the Light is the ancient Primal Mother and referred to as "silver":

> Now as to these two mysteries of *ziwa* and *nhura* (radiant light and diffuse light): know that they are the ancient primal Father and Mother. Pure gold is the mystery of the Father, its name is Radiance: silver is the Mother's mystery and its name is Light. Silver is the Mother's mystery [symbol] and its name is Light. The Crown is the Father's symbol and its name is Radiance: the myrtle-wreath the symbol of the Mother and its name is "Let there be Light". The "owner of a crown" [*a priest*] is concerned with the mystery of the Father. A Mandaean [*layman*] and his wife are occupied with the mystery of the Mother.[562]

[illegible]

558 GRR, p. 5: 25. The Text:

[illegible]

559 ATŠ, p. 16. Lady Drower comments: "The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the syzygy of *nhura*, is an active, creative male principle and light is a receptive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ" (SA p. 6).

560 GRR p. 83: 21.

561 ATŠ, p. 16.

562 ATŠ, p. 201, Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

There is more that one metaphor in the Mandaean dualism symbolizing sex and fecundity (male and female principles) such us: *ziwa* radiance and *nhura* light, *aina* wellspring and *sindirka* the palm tree, *hiia* Life and *dmut-hiia* counterpart or *şauta* companion, *Jordan* river (or: running water) and *arqa* earth. Some of the above ideas are found in a prayer known as "*šal šulta*" where the divine marriage is "typified in three allegorical pairs; Radiance and Light, Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia, and the Date-palm and wellspring":[563]

> Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the First great Light. Praised be the mystic *Tanna* (womb?) which dwells in the great mystic First Wellspring and the First Date-palm. Praised be the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance. Praised is Simat-Hiia, Mother of all Kings, for from Her all world proceeded, because She was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.[564]

Light and Darkness is the main motif of the Mandaic Gnosticism and dualism. The whole existence consists of two worlds: the World of Light with its heavenly jordans and battalions of Beings of lights "*uhtras*", against the World of Darkness with its demons, liliths and evil beings. The hostility between these two worlds is eternal, but these worlds cannot be isolated because they derive their powers from each other:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another, neither can

---

563 SA, p. 11.

564 CP, [171] p. 154, Drower's translation, text collated:

remove from nor approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other.[565]

The Mandaean literature informs us that Light came into existence by the power of the high divinities at the beginning of existence. It is the Light of the Great First Life which together with the Radiance encircle the Mana (the first intelligence):

> Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be light of the Great First Life![566] . Before the *Mana* there is light, behind the *Mana* glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity.[567]

During the baptism rituals, the priest proceeds towards the river, wades up in water, opens the gate of Light and compresses the evil elements of Darkness with his staff after the recitation of certain prayers. He commences these prayers with the name of the Life, the he praises the Radiance and the Light:

> In the name of the Life! Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light![568] "Strengthened and enhanced is he great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life."[569]

Radiance and Light play an essential role in the religious life of the sect. For example; it is the duty of every Naşoraean (Mandaean) to carry out every single detail of the ritual in a perfect way, even when he wears his ritual *rasta* "outfit" and put on his turban, because his outfit symbolizes the Radiance and the Light:

---

[565] ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) . Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[566] Cf. "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light" (Genesis 1: 3).

[567] CP, p. 4.

[568] CP, p. 154.

[569] CP, p. 5.

> And Manda d-Hiia, the valorous *'Uthra*, taught, revealed and said: "Every man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolizing the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon."[570]

During baptizing the Mandaean has to anoint with radiance and light, not in the name of a god or a spirit:

> Anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race.[571]

§ 2.3.3 - ‘Šata Haita The Living Fire:

The Mandaean literature do not provide us with sufficient knowledge concerning *šata hiata* "the living fire" or "the living flame" except it was created in the "house of Life",[572] and that Ptahil fetched some of the living fire and tossed it, with a piece of his garment, into the black waters, and thus the earth condensed and became solid.[573] The living fire is a constructive element of creation in contrast with the *šata ʾkilta* "consuming fire" which is destructive.[574] The living fire along with the consuming fire spread among the stars.[575] The messengers and *ʿutras* are usually

---

[570] CP, p. 2
[571] CP, p. 19. According to the Zervan system (Zervan is the time god of old Persia), light is identical with time. (Pallis 1926: 69)
[572] GRR, p. 320: 8.
[573] GRR, p. 320: 25.
[574] Cf. כי יהוה אלהיך אש אכלה "the Lord thy God is a consuming fire" Deuteronomy 4: 23-24.
[575] GRR, p. 319: 10. The text:
ڀڀڪه ڀڀڪه ڀڀڪه ڀڀڪه ڀڀڪه

dressed in the garments of living fire.[576] Manda d-Hiia used *klila d'šata haita* the crown of the living fire in his battle with the King of Darkness.[577] The "living fire" is mentioned in Manichaean literature in phrases such as the "ships of living fire and water"[578] or the "wheels of the living fire".[579]

§ 2.3.4 - ܥܘܬܪܐ The 'Uthra:

First of all, we have to admit that the word *'uthra* is not easy to explain. The *Mandaic Dictionary* defines the word as "wealth" according to Nöldke,[580] whereas Drower defines it as an "eternal being; a spirit of light and life."[581] The word is derived from a root meaning "to increase", "be abounding",[582] and unlike *malkia* who are sometimes good and sometimes evil, *'uthras* are invariably pure and beneficent.[583] These beings of light are comparable with the *yazatas* in Zoroastrianism. The *yazatas* (like the *'uthras*) cannot be rendered as "gods" or "angels" but they are associated with the divine and perform mundane tasks. In contrast to the abhored *daevas*, the *yazatas* were capable of being worshipped. They are also the guardians of the

---

576 GRR, 299: 19. The text:
ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܫ ܚܝܬܐ
577 GRR, p. 99.
578 Gardner & Lieu, 2004: 15.
579 Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II CCXIX, edited by Allberry C.R.C., Stuttgart (1938), p. 2.
580 MD, p. 347. Nöldke defines ܥܘܬܪܐ *'uthra* ܥܬܪ as "Reichtum" "wealth" (MG, p. 104 n. 4, Arabic ثراء). In the Manichean Psalms of Thomas the sons of light are also called "the Riches" (Widengren, 1961: 93-4). Drower associates *'uthra* with the Syriac ܥܬܪ "to be rich", "abounding" and finds no reason why *'uthra* not to be translated as "wealth" and she does not agree with Lidzbarski's suggestion that the Mandaeans chose the word *'uthra* to avoid confusion with Jewish and Moslem names for angels. She reaches the conclusion that the *'uthri* might originally have been life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of spring and rain. She bases her conclusion on W. Robertson Smith, who mentioned in his book *Religion of the Semites*, that there was a god in South Arabia named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and claimed that *'athari* referred to being watered by the sky and fountains. (MII pp. 94-5, n.2).
581 ATŠ, p. 15.
582 SA, p. 56.
583 ATŠ, p. 15.

celestial bodies and the messengers of Ahura Mazda. The chief Yazata is Mithra and some of the others include *Daena, Mah, Rashnu, Tistrya,* and *Zam.* Just like the case with the word "uthra', Boyce admits the difficulty in defining the word *yazatas* and prefers to leave it untraslated.[584]

Even the Mandaean liturgies cannot give us a satisfactory explanation concerning the *'uthras,* except that they resemble radiance and rays of light and they do not lie. It is the Planets who lie and they will come to end on the great day of Sup:

> Who will come, who will tell me what *uthras* are like, what *uthras* resemble, and what do rays-of-light resemble? *Uthras* resemble Radiance, "Rays" resemble Light. *Uthras* pledge their word (lit. take oath) and do not lie, The planets lie: they Come to an end on the Great Last Day.[585]

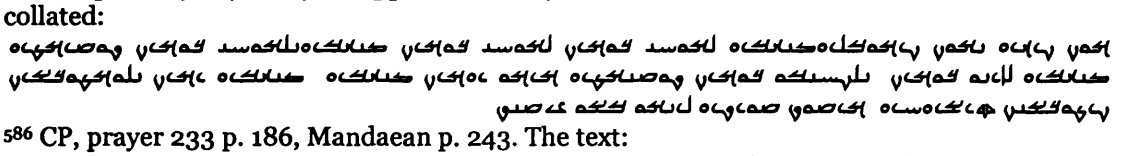
According to Mandaeanism, *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being, and the ether-world was peopled by angelic beings, "*uthras*":

> In it (in the ether-world) *ziwa* Radiance will form itself and sublime Light *nhūra* be set up therein. In there will be *uthras* and Rays-of-Light will be established therein appearances that shine with lovely radiance.[586]

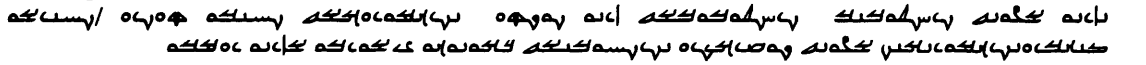
---

[584] Boyce, 1975: 196, 225. The *yazatas* were revered in the Near East during the reign of Shapur II until the fourth century when some parts of the region (like Armenia) converted into Christianity and the old cultic centers of the Zoroastrian divinities, the *yazatas* were turned into Christian sites (Stoyanov 2000: 99).

[585] CP, p. 126 *ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* pp. 168-169 Hymn no. 141. Drower's translation, text collated:



[586] CP, prayer 233 p. 186, Mandaean p. 243. The text:



These beings are made of light, which emanated from radiance and from the living water, which gushed out from the Light. They are not First Emanations, but they were created by them:

> In the land of Light, the Life existed; the Life existed in the land of Light. And from the Life, water poured forth, water poured forth form the Life. And from the water Radiance emanated, and from Radiance, Light emanated, and from Light the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[587]

The *uthras* are not like human beings. They do not need to communicate by means of vocal sounds; they communicate telepathically. They can read the thoughts of each other and converse to each other by means of baptism and *masiqtas* (rituals of ascension of the soul) and prayers. They are so swift and light and glow more than the stars (lamps):

> And that which conveys the intercourse of *uthras* is the sublime ether. And they are alike in the meditations of their hearts, talking with a person with their thoughts and not speaking (*with their mouths*). *Uthras* converse with one another by means of their baptism and *masiqtas* and their devotional prayers: the resemble stars which quickly come out and go in, the one with its fellow (- star), for they are swifter than the wind and as brilliant as lamps.[588]

The *uthras* are ancient and older than earth and the Planets :

---

[587] GRR book 15: 20 p. 442: 11. The text:

[588] ATŠ, p. 213 (Mandaean ATŠ p. 69), the text:

> Any *uthra* is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years.[589]

Abatur is the father of the *uthras*. *Hibil*, *Šitil* and *Anoš* are the famous triad of *uthras* in the Mandaean tradition. *Adathan* and *Yadathan*, *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, are another two famous pairs of *uthras*. *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* are the guardian spirits of the Jordan, the delegates of Manda d-Hiia, who carry out the work of the Life. *Adathan* and *Yadathan* stand at the Gate of Life and praise and worship Life:

> (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Adathan* and *Yadthan*, who stand at the Gate of Life, and praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls of righteous and believing people in the Place of Life. (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, two *uthras* delegates of Manda d-Hiia who are active and do (the work of) the Life.[590]

The *uthras* live in their *škinas* in the world beyond and instructed by their king 'the king of the *uthras*' about the mysteries of their world:

> The king of *uthras* came, he set off and came, the king of *uthras* to the *škinta* in which the *uthras* sit. He said to them "About what ye been instructed, (O) *uthras*?" "About the *Mana* that is within the Occult, about the *Mana* that came into being in the Hidden, and about the Radiance that glows in a hidden place".[591]

---

589 CP, p. 1, Mandaean *Maṣbuta* p. 24. The text:

590 CP, p. 86, (Mandaean Hymns & Prayers pp. 240, 242). Drower's translation, text collated:

591 CP, 172, Mandaean pp. 213-214, hymn n. 200. The text:

Book III of the Ginza Rba tells us that countless battalions of *uthras* came into being when the Life called forth "the Second Life". One of these *uthras* was Abatur, the eldest son of the Second Life who advised his father to defy the Life and create a new world.[592] They live with the sublime world of the King of Light in his abode that is translucent and bright, with great crowns on their heads. [593]

The Mandaeans avoid using the word (*malka*) for the heavenly beings. *Malkia*, "kings", apart from its literal and derived meaning when applied to priests, is a term which may indicate evil beings as well as good: there is a *malka d-nhura* (king of light) and *malka d-hšuka* (king of darkness):

> *Alaha* (god) descended from his loftiness and assumed the shape of *malakia* angels. The *malakia* angels put on the (masquerade) of demons and day by day they pervert the minds of men. They clench to the necks of priests, slaughterers and oracle-tellers and eat form their flesh until they are full. And drink from their blood until they are satisfied. They speak with (false) wisdom and deception and change the times.[594]

In the story of creation it is written that the higher deity, the Great *Mana*, bestowed the title "the king of the *uthras*" on Manda d-Hiia before sending him down to put an end to the mutiny of the Second Life's *uthras*:

> You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of the *kušṭa* (covenant) and the Creator of the treasures, we give authority upon all the worlds of Light

---

592 GRR book 3 p. 84.
593 GRR books 1 and 2 contain detailed description of the *uhtras* and their world of light.
594 GRR book 5: 2 pp. 201: 25, 202. The text:

> and the *uthras* of light who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[595]

Those beings of light are made up of many kinds and fall into earths, *škinas*, Jordans, trees, *uthras*, and angels, as well as radiance, light, and brightness which rest upon them, and no borders separate them.[596]

§ 2.3.5 - ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡃࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *alma d-nhūra* The World of Light:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another. Neither can remove from or approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other. [597]

The Ginza Rba portraits the World of Light as a world of fragrance, in which there is no vile odor; a world of eternal life, in which there is no death; pure without evil; a world of goodness without hatred; a world of living water, in whose aroma kings rejoice:

> The world, in which he (the King of Light) stands, has no demise:
> A world of radiance and light, in which there is no darkness,
> a world of calm, in which there is no disturbance,
> a world if justice, in which there is no chaos of confusion,
> a world of fragrance, in which there is no despicable smell,
> a world of eternal life, in which there in no demise or death,
> a world of living waters, in whose fragrance kings rejoice,
> a world of goodness, in which there is no evil,

595 GRR p. 86: 21f. The text:
[illegible]

596 GRR, book I, p. 11: 17.

597 ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) .The text:
[illegible]

a world of truth (*kušṭa*) and faith, in which there is no deception or lying;
it is a pure world, without evil adulteration.[598]

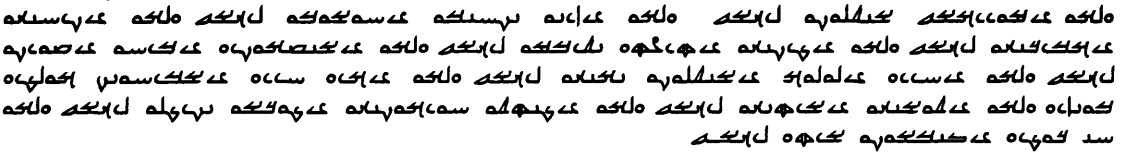
The World of Light is a place of life, truth. Their buildings are of pure crystal and their *škinas* (abodes) are made out of light. Mandaean souls long to see it and dwell in it:

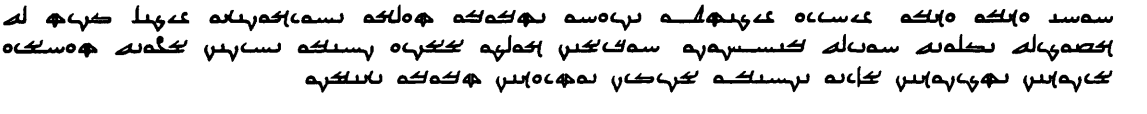
> That place is a place of life, truth (*kušṭa*), peace, security, joy, and faith, for which everyone hopes and in which everyone puts his trust. The King rejoices at the children of light, and they pride themselves on him. Their buildings and *škinas* are built of radiance and light, and their walls are full of strength and stability.[599]

Beings of light and kings (angels) of radiance dwell in the World of Light. They gentle and wise, loving without malice. They are arrayed in garments of light. Their thoughts are open to each other and they know the First and the Last. Their clothes do not wither and their wreaths do not fade away:

> They are clothed in garments of radiance and are arrayed in a covering of light. They sit and dwell together, without offending one another and without sinning against one another. They are honored in their firmament and match as the eyelash the eye. Their thoughts are open on one another, and they know the First and the Last. They are a thousand thousand *parasang* (league) distant from one another

---

[598] GRR 9: 4-18. The text:


[599] GRR 12: 21 – 13: 1. The text:


and (yet) one is illumined by the other's radiance, one is fragrant through another's fragrance, one administer *kušṭa* to the other and they understand one another's thoughts. They have escaped every kind of death and death's corruption is not decreed for them. There is no passing away for them, they do not grow old, their strength does not diminish, and they are not plagued by diseases and infirmities. Their vesture does not become black nor their covering dark. Their (myrtle) wreaths do not wither; they do not crumble and do not lose their leaves.[600]

The World of Light is located to the north where Abatur is enthroned. Mandaeans turn towards the Polar Star (Polaris), the region of the vault of heaven, during their prayers. The North is the source of light, instruction and healing. If a Mandaean wishes to pray and reflect, he faces the north and their dead are buried towards the north. Their *bit-manda* (temple) always faces the north. The House of Abatur (Abatur of the Scales) is situated north controlling the path which leads to the Realm of Light. From her long stay in Iraq and the extensive study and her lengthy observation of the Mandaeans rituals, Lady Drower believes that the climate of Mesopotamia was a main factor which made the Mandaeans chose the north as their *Qiblah* (direction for prayers) and the direction according to which they bury their dead.[601]

---

[600] GRR 9: 24 – 10: 13. The text:
ܘܟܝܦܐܠܗ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܠ ܐܝܟܚܟ ܝܟܚ ܐܫܡܥܬ ܐܒܒܗ ܝܨܒܝܢ ܒܕܐ ܐܚܟ ܐܚܟ
ܒܐܠ ܐܘܐ ܚܐܐ ܝܟܚ ܡܐܣܬܟܘ ܠܐ ܝܟܟܘܐ ܐܝܬܝܟ ܘܫܡܐ ܟܫܟܣܟ ܫܐ
ܝܟ ܐܟܣܐ ܐܒܫܚ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܝܟܐ ܐܒܐܟܟ ܐܝܬܐܟܟ ܐܝܬܝ ܝܐܠ ܢܐܟܟ
ܐܫܚ ܐܝܬܝ ܐܫܚ ܐܒܚ ܐܟܟ ܐܒܐܟܟ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܬ
ܘܠܟܐܒ ܐܒܐܟ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܟܐ ܐܟܐ ܐܟ ܐܟ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ

[601] The Mandeans believe that the north is the source of light and healing. On the contrary the Parsis had a natural hatred for the north because they believe that the north is the source of all evil (MII p. 18, n. 9).

The world of Light is a metaphysical world beyond the reach of the evil Planets. Physics does not apply and no gravity is needed; it is independent in its own laws:

> Their earth does not rest on anvils (: supports), their firmament does not rotate on wheels, the seven stars do not pass over them, and the Five and the Twelve do not control their destiny.[602]

§ 2.3.6 - ܐܠܡܐ ܕܫܘܟܐ *alma d-hšuka* The World of Darkness:

The World of Darkness is in contrast to the World of Light.[603] The World of Darkness is dominated by all kinds of demons and monsters and ruled by the King of Darkness. According to the Mandaeans, the earth of Darkness is located to the south of the earth of Light,[604] beneath the earth of Darkness:

> Beyond the earth of light downwards and beyond the earth Tibil, in the South there is that earth of darkness.[605]

The composition of the World of Darkness is different from the World of Light and do not resemble in any way that of the World of Light:

> It has a form which is different and isolate from the earth of light, for they are (both) different from each other in every quality and shape.[606]

---

[602] GRR p. 13: 8. The text:
ܒܣܝܥܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ، ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܒܝܠ ܕܒܪܡܫ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[603] Manichaeism teaches that light and darkness are: "Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attached light." (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[604] The Manicheans believe that the realm of the King of Darkness is located to the south of the Kingdom of Life (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 12).

[605] GRR 333: 13:
ܐܠܡܐ ܕܫܘܟܐ ܒܬܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܒܝܠ ܒܬܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[606] GRR 333: 15:

Darkness exists through its own evil nature and the worlds of Darkness are numerous and without limit:

> Darkness exists through its own evil nature. It is a horrid darkness, a desolate gloominess which knows not the First and the Last.[607]

The Mandaeans believe that the underworld is made of six layers; this lowest (first) is copper, then iron, brass, steel, gold, silver and dust. 'Ur, the King of Darkness is confined in *arqa ḏnhaša* "the earth of copper" by Hibil-Ziwa.[608]

The inhabitants of the World of Darkness show no fidelity to their habitation. Their earth is black waters and their heights are deep darkness:

> The worlds of darkness are numerous and without end.[609] Broad and deep is the abode of evil, whose peoples showed no commitment to the place which is their endless habitation, whose kingdom came into being from themselves.[610] They came into being from the *tanna* (womb) and procreation of the Darkness and from the whole *saka* (extreme, limit) of the Black Waters.[611] Their earth is black water and their heights gloomy darkness.[612]

Manichaeism, which adopted the Persian dualism, also believes that the universe consists of two worlds: World of Light and the World of Darkness and Satan came into being from the World of Darkness, as we read in the *Fihrist*, Mani said: "From the land of Darkness there was Satan (al-Šayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compound and brought Satan into existence" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 778).

[607] GRR 333: 18:

[608] For more details of the struggle between Ur and Hibil-Ziwa see MII p. 252.

[609] GRR 334: 1

[610] GRR 334: 2

[611] GRR 175: 1

[612] GRR 334: 5

But Darkness and Light are bound together, and without darkness there was no light:

> For darkness and light are bound together: had there been no dark then light would not have come into being. [613]

The Mandaeans envisaged that the "cosmos beyond" consists of two realms: Light and Darkness and each with its own rulers and subjects.[614] Those of Light are described as *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous" who are [illegible] *mand'* "knowledgeable" of the Life and full with *ṭabuta* "goodness", while the sons of Darkness characterized as "foolish" or "evil":[615]

> The world of darkness, utterly full of evil, ... full of devouring fire ... full of falsehood and deceit. A world of turbulence without steadfastness, a world of darkness without light ... a world of death without eternal life, a world in which the good things perish and plans come to naught.[616]

Manda d̲-Hiia provides us with a pictorial description of that world and its inhabitants, when he descended to the world of darkness:

> I went to the place of darkness; to the place where the evil ones dwell, and to the dwelling which is full of destroyer. (I went to) the place of the dragons, and to the furnaces of the consuming flames. To the furnaces of fire, whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of firmament. I descended and found the rebellious monsters of the darkness. I descended and found them, as all of them plot in evilness.

---

613 ATŠ p. 134. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

614 Cf. Mani's description: "The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 777).

615 Reeves, 1996: 95 n. 49.

616 GRR pp. 14-15
[illegible]

They stand and plot in evilness and stand and forge weapons.[617] I beheld the black water in it, which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling. And whoever enters there dies, and whoever beholds it is scorched. I beheld the dragons, which were hurled there and writhe about. I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour. I beheld the chariots of darkness, which do not resemble one another. I beheld the wicked rebels, as they are seated in their chariots. I beheld the wicked rebels, how they are arrayed with weapons of evil. They are arrayed with weapons of evil, and plot evil against the Place of Light. They were all arrayed with weapons and seated before him, the King of Darkness.[618]

§ 2.3.7- (ڡڵڪ) ڡڵڪه ڏسهوڪه *malka d-hšuka* The King of Darkness ('Ur):

The Mandaean myth portrays the King of Darkness ('Ur) in different forms and shapes. Sometimes he is a gigantic reptile where his dragon nature appears and sometimes he is represented as a snake biting its tail (as he is drawn on the Mandaean talisman the *skandola*).[619] In her book *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* Lady Drower gave a Mandaean drawing representing 'Ur in the form of a louse whose body contains the worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number: the first is the *maṭarta* of Šamiš, the second is the world of *mšuni kušṭa* (the Mandaean ideal world), the third is the world of the Mandaeans and the rest are *maṭarthas* (watch-houses). Above 'Ur are the seven heavens and under his belly, which is of fire, there is

---

[617] GRR 97: 2 f.
[618] GRR 90: 7 f.
[619] In the Mandaean talismanic seal ("Skandola") 'Ur is portrayed as a serpent encircling the other elements of evil; the hornet, the scorpion and the lion (MII p. 38). On the other hand, Mead asserts that 'Ur is originally the Chaldean *Deus Lunus* (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of "Ophite" origin (See Mead, 1924: 35 n. 2). Cf. Syriac incantation bowl 117ES where an image of a snake is surrounding the text and eating its own tail (Segal, 2000: 147 plate 134). See also C. H. Gordon, 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', apud *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, (1966), 1-9.

the black water (oil) which produces fire. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth.[620]

The Ginza informs us that the King of Darkness was formed from the black waters and emerged through his own evil nature:

> From the black water the King of Darkness was formed, and emerged through his own evil nature. He waxed strong, mighty, and powerful, he called forth and propagated a thousand thousand evil generations without limit and myriad ugly creations beyond count.[621] That King of Darkness assumed all the forms of the creatures of the world: the head of the lion, the body of the dragon, the wings of the eagle, the back of the tortoise, the hands and feet of a monster. [622] He walks, he crawls, creeps, flies, screams, is rude, threatening, roars, groans, gives (insolent) winks, whistles, and knows all the languages of the world.[623] When he wants he stretches his body, and when he wants he makes himself small. He moves his *handamḫ* "membrum" in and out, and owns (the genitals) of men and women. And when he shakes (perceives?) all the mysteries,[624] he rages with his voice, his word, his smoke, his breath, his eyes, his mouth, his hand, his leg, his strength,

---

[620] MII p. 254 f.

[621] GRR 334: 6. The text:

[622] The above description of the snake/dragon 'Ur resembles Akkadian horned serpent *bašmu* - the mythical monster created in the sea, 60 leagues long with multiple mouths and tongues. (Dalley, 1989: 323) Mani described *al-Šayṭan* "Satan" as follows: "His head is the head of a lion and is body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and is four feet like the feet of the beast burden" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, Dodge 1970: 778). The story of 'Ur's defeat on the hands of Manda d̲-Hiia is identical to Leviathan of the Bible, the monster which was defeated by Yahweh at creation, and also to the defeat of Lutan, the swift serpent, by Baal (see Ringgren, 1973: 148-9).

[623] GGR 335: 13. Cf. the Manichaean King of Darkness: "the King of Darkness knows the converse and language of the five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as the address one another; each one of them in his language" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 201).

[624] *ragiš* Act. pt. RGŠ *ragiš bkulhun razia* he perceives (? Lidzb. *er nimmt wahr*) all mysteries (MD p. 425)

his poison, his wrath, his speech, his fear, his dread, his terror, his roaring, (and) all the worlds of darkness are terrified. His form is hideous, his body stinks, and his face is disfigured. The thickness of his lips measures one hundred and forth four thousand *parasangs*[625]. The breath of his jaws melts iron, and the rocks are scorched by his breath. He lifts up his eyes and the mountains quake, the whisper of his lips makes the plains quake.[626]

The following verse from the Book of John (*draša d-iahiah*) shows that this world is defined by darkness, and darkness by the world. It also indicates the contrast between the two different natures of the King of Light and the King of Darkness. This dualism reflects the Gnostic beliefs in general:[627]

Two kings came into being (or: were there), two natures were fashioned: a king of this world and a king beyond the world. The king of these ages (or: aeons) put on a sword and crown of darkness. The crown of darkness he put on and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand and he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The king beyond the worlds put on a crown of light. A crown of light he put on and took *Kušṭa* (the Truth) in his right hand. *Kušṭa* he took in his right hand, he stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs his sons, and his sons instruct one another.[628]

---

[625] *parsa* or *parsang* فرسخ : Persian mile (MD p. 364).

[626] GRR 336: 3

[627] Jonas, 1958: 57. He also stated, 'The first alien Life is the "King of Light," whose world is "a world of splendor and of light without darkness." Opposed to it is the "world of darkness, utterly full of evil, full of devouring fire, full of falsehood and deceit" (Ibid).

[628] *draša d-iahia* (The Book of John) pp. 46: 11 – 47: 4. The text:

Book V of the Ginza tells that 'Ur was the offspring of Rūha and her brother *Gaf* (one of the lords of the world of Darkness).[629] Other Gnostic stories report that "Pistis Sophia desired to produce alone, *without her consort*, a work that would be like unto the first-existing Light: it came forth as a celestial image which constituted a *curtain* between the higher realms of light and the later-born, inferior aeons; and shadow extends beneath the curtain, that is, on its outer side which faces away form the light. The shadow, which was called "Darkness," became *matter*; and out of this matter comes forth, as an abortion, the lion-shaped Ialdabaoth."[630]

Amazingly the Mandaean still preserve, in some of their literature, the biblical name ࡋࡉࡅࡉࡀࡕࡀࡍ "Leviathan" identified with 'Ur. In ATŠ (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) he is portrayed as the serpent that swallows the sinners and the negligent priests. Also those who are attacked by a snake are "marked with the sign of Leviathan and become the portion of Darkness."[631] On the other hand the characterization of the Mandaean King of Darkness matches the depiction of the demiurge Ialdabaoth who has the aspect of a lion and a serpent cited in the Apocryphon of John. [632]

[illegible]

The Manichaean cosmogony relates that King of Light and the King of Darkness are engaged in fighting each other from the beginning and each of whom has his own realm, darkness by coincidence rose up out of his limits and attacked light (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[629] GRR, book V.

[630] Jonas, "The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics", (JR) 1962: 269.

[631] ATŠ, [287] p. 262, see also pp. 113, 121, 225, 262, 275.

[632] See Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1965: 75 in which he stated: "Eventually he is a monstrous figure with the head of a lion and the body of a serpent, like Chnounis or Abrasax on magical amulets .... Ialdabaoth says the *Apocryphon of*

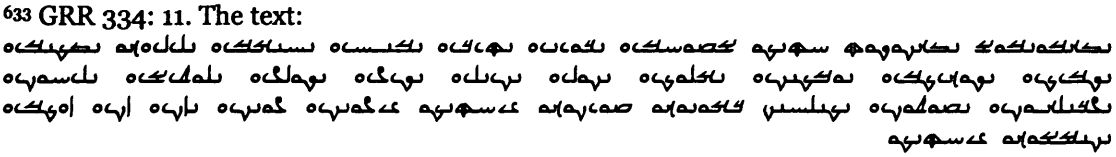
§ 2.3.8 - The Army of the King of Darkness:

The forces of the World of Darkness consist of demons, *dewis*, (evil) spirits, *hmurthas* "amulet-spirits", *liliths* , *'kuris* "temple-spirits", *prikis* "shrine-spirits", *patikris* "idol-demons", *arkonis* "archons", *malakis* "angels", *nalais* "vampires", *niulis* "hobgoblins", *pigas* "misadventure demons", *pilgis* "mutant demons", *laṭabis* "devils", *lihanis* "net-spirits", *gadultas* "ghosts", and *saṭanis* "Satans", all the hateful forms of darkness of every kind and variety, male and female of darkness. [633] These creatures are *haškia* "gloomy", *'kumia* "black", *ṭupšania* "filthy", *mriddia* "rebellious", *rgizia* "furious", *zidania* "wrathful", *zihirania* "venomous", *saklia* "foolish", *ndidia* "repulsive", *ṣahnia* "stinking" and *zapuria* "putrid". Some among them are *harašia* "mute", *ṭrišia* "deaf", *ṭmimia* "insensible", *tahmia* "dull", *algia* "stuttering", *dugia* "unhearing", *gugia* "babbling", *pigia* "idiots", *šgišia* "frightful", *laiadita* "ignorant"; some among them are *haṣipia* "arrogant", *hamimia* hot-headed, *taqipia* "powerful", *haripia* "harsh", *rugzania* "ill-tempered", *raktania* "lustful", *bnia zma* "children of blood", (of) fanned fire, and overwhelming blaze. ..... They partake of every kind of form: some of them crawl on their bellies, some move about in water, some fly, some have many feet like the reptiles of the earth, and some carry a hundred [...]. They have molars and incisors in their jaws. . . . The taste of their trees is (like) poison and

---

John, had eyes like burning lightning that flashed. He is the god who brings about Heimarmene" (Ibid).

[633] GRR 334: 11. The text:



gall, their sap is (like) naphtha and pitch.[634] Some of these demons survive on devouring humans and spilling (drinking) their blood:[635]

> *Dewis* of *bit nirig* "the house of Mars" fall upon humans and fleece them and cleave their flesh and spill their blood on the ground.[636]

§ 2.3.9 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha; the Queen of Darkness:

Rūha (resp. Namrūs or Hiwat)[637] is the Arch-demoness, the queen of Darkness.[638] She is the daughter of "Qin" the Mistress of Darkness. She is the ruler of the third *maṭarta* (watch-house)[639], and dwells in first underworld.[640] Rūha is the mother of the King of Darkness 'Ur,[641] and the mother of the Seven planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five planets. She is considered as a kind of "'fallen wisdom figure" resembling Sophia in other Gnostic traditions:[642] she fights and

---

[634] ࡍࡀࡐࡈࡀ ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡀ *napṭa uqira*: crude oil and pitch. This is a clear indication to the oil-bearing region of Mesopotamia. The flames of fire in the north oil fields of Kirkuk, the pitch in the western pitch mines of Hit on the Euphrates and the black waters (crude oil) of Ur, Missan and Basrah in the south inspired the old Mesopotamians to portray a superlative revelation of the underworld. GGR 334: 18, 335: 12. The text:
[illegible]

[635] For the parallels between the Mandaean and Akkadian flesh eating and blood drinking demons see Christa Müller-Kessler, "Phraseology in Mandaic incantations", ARAM, 1-12 (1999-2000), 293-310 esp. 302.

[636] GRR p. 35: 19.
[illegible]

[637] Daium is another epithet of Rūha (CP p. 62).

[638] Cf. the Manichean Namrael and Neβρωδ, the mother of the world *'ma dalma* whose weapon is a bow, just as in Thomas XIV, where she wants "to take her arrows and shoot them" (Söderbergh 1949: 146).

[639] GRR: 6.

[640] GRR book 5. See also SA, p. 57.

[641] Zaehner stated: "Ruha's relationship to the male 'Ur is exactly parallel to the relationship of the demoness Āz and Ahriman" (Zaehner 1955: 167, see also Buckley 2002: 45).

[642] Buckley, HR 1982: 60. The western female figure of *Sophia* "Wisdom" is unknown in Mandaeanism, nevertheless, the Ginza connects Rūha with false wisdom: [illegible]

suffers and appears in several realms at the same time.'[643] Rūha is the leader of the underworld forces and the "entity incorporation powers of darkness which the light-world had to conquer."[644] The Mandaeans use the term ࡍࡉࡔࡉ࡙ࡀ *nišimta* for "soul" and ࡓ࡙ࡀ *rūha* for "spirit". The expression *rūha* "spirit" stands on the lower level and according to Rudolph corresponds to the "soul" (*psychē*) in the Hellenistic sources.[645] Rūha is the immaterial part of man which influenced by physical desires.[646] Rūha's symbolical colour, according to the Mandaeans, is sky-blue, [647] and can appear as a woman of extreme beauty either in her blue mantle or naked, apparently, to seduce men.[648]

In Book VI of the Ginza Rba (the book of "Dinanukt") Rūha describes her self as "light and darkness", "error and truth", "destruction and structure" etc., in clear dualist terms:

> I am the life which exists since eternity. I am the *kušṭa* which was from afore-the beginning. I am the radiance, I am the light, I am the death, I am the life, I am the darkness, I am the light, I am the error, I am the truth, I am the destruction and I am the structure, I am the offence (accidental disqualification for ritual etc.) and its purification. I am the outstanding being who is prior to that (one) who built the heavens and earth.[649]

ࡌ࡙ࡋ࡙ࡋ *mamlila bhukmat hrara* "she talks with the wisdom of an illusionist" (GRR book 3, p. 90: 5).

[643] Buckley, HR 1980: 260. Jonas has no answer to "how this figure 'Wisdom', or at least its name, came to be combined in Gnostic thought with the moon-, mother-, and love-goddess of Near Eastern religion, to form that ambiguous figure encompassing the whole scale from the highest to the lowest, from the most spiritual to the utterly sensual (as expressed in the very combination "Sophia-Prunikos", "Wisdom the Whore" " (Jonas 1958: 176-177).

[644] Buckley, HR 1982: 63. In her research about the Rūha, Buckley found striking resemblances between Rūha and "The thunder: Perfect Mind" in the Nag Hammadi Library (see also Buckley, HR, 1980: 264).

[645] Rudolf, 1983: 91.

[646] ATŠ p. 15.

[647] MII p. 149.

[648] Ibid 149-6.

[649] GRR book 6 'the book of Dinanokt' p. 241: 6f.

§ 2.3.9.1 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha: The Mother of the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Monsters:

When Rūha (the goddess of the Underworld and mother of all evil) [650] realized that Ptahil was having difficulties in his first attempt to create the world, she committed incest three times with 'Ur (the King of Darkness)[651] in order to produce the luminaries. In the first time she approached Ur, as his mother, and said to him, "Arise and sleep with your mother and you will be freed from your fetter!" He slept with her and after seven days she bore the Seven (planets),[652] but her offspring did not make her happy: "when she beheld them, her heart fell from its support". In the second time she approached him as his sister, and said to him, "I am your sister; if you sleep with me your strength will be twice as much." He slept with her and after twelve days she bore the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and again they did not please her. In the third time, she approached him as his daughter and said to him, "Rise, my father, and behold your daughter! Embrace me and kiss me and sleep with me and

---

[illegible]

650 Jonas writes, 'Rūha, literally "spirit." The perversion of this term to denote the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion, all the more paradoxical in view of the fact that the full title of this anti-divine figure is Rūha d̲-Qudša, i.e., "the Holy Spirit." (Jonas 1958: 72 n. 25). DA gives Rūha seven names: "she enflames the womb", "treasure", "She-lusted-after", "She-conserved", "Drop", "Qin"(the queen, mistress of darkness. Often identified with Rūha) , "She-loved-these". DA p. 38.

651 The Mandaean Leviathan, the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (the planets less the Sun and the Moon). Some scholars connect him with Tiamat, the chaos monster who was killed by Marduk. (Jonas 1958: 117). He is the offspring of Rūha and Gaf (one of the Giants of the World of Darkness) (see book 5 of the Ginza Rba). He is the dragon which encircles the whole world and that no one can match his power (GRL p. 11: 11). Budge writes, "In some portion of the Black Water dwells a great she-devil called Rūha, and her husband 'Ur, who is the god of Darkness, and is the great antagonist of the god of Light. Here we have we have a cosmogony derived from the ancient Sumerians, and Tiamat, Kingu and Marduk under other names, and we may regard the Mandaeans as the representatives of the ancient worshippers of Ea, the great Water-god of Eridu" (Budge 1930: 240).

652 The seven "planets" were gods in the Babylonian pantheon, including the sun and the moon. (Wilson, 1958: 10). Gnosticism, in general, considered the seven planets as the seven spheres which separated the soul from its heavenly home (Ibid 105).

gaze your fill at the world." Again he slept with her and she conceived five "monsters" (the planets without the Sun and the Moon), and again they were not what Rūha wished for. [653] Rūha could not achieve her goals; instead she lost her magical powers and failed to free her son Ur from his fetters.[654]

§ 2.3.9.2 - ܪܘܚܐ ܡܣܬܢܝܬܐ *rūha masṭanita* "Rūha, the Seductress":

Rūha d-Qudša "Holy-Spirit"[655] is an epithet for Rūha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality.[656] She is the "desirous" or "to make love sick" a symbol of ܒܙܢܩܝܬܐ *baznaqita* "lust".[657] Rūha's epithet "*qudša*" corresponds to a category of cultic staff of Ištar which includes female

[653] GRR p. 112: 14 ff. These three acts of incest show clearly that the planets are the product of evil. Zaehner stated that consanguineous marriage is of Magian origin and that the Rūha and Ur act of incest is similar to Ohrmazd's consanguineous marriages (intercourse) with his mother, his sister and his daughter. Zaehner mentions, according to the Acts of Pusai, that the Sun, Moon, and stars were the children of Ohramazd. These three consanguineous marriages were considered the most holy of all among the Zoroastrians (Zaehner 1955: 154, 5). Jonas suggests that "the spheres are the seats of the Archons, especially of the "Seven" that is, of the planetary gods borrowed from the Babylonian pantheon" (Jonas 1958: 43). (In spite of "archon" is of western source, we find ܐܪܟܘܢ *arkun* "archon" in some Mandaean texts such as the Ginza p. 334: 14, "archon" also occurs in Manichaeism (see Widengren 1961, English translation 1965: 55).

[654] Zaehner could establish some resemblances between Rūha and her son Ur on the one hand, and between Āz and Ahriman on the other. Āz, who belongs to Zervanite demonology in old Persia, is the "personification of concupiscence – acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust, and perhaps much more besides.' In this respect (based on Alexander of Lycopolis) he writes: "Āz is the mother of all the demons and the greatest of them. In the diabolical hierarchy she is always mentioned first, taking precedence over Ahriman. Her relationship with the latter is exactly parallel to the relationship of the female Rūhā to the male Ur in the Mandaean scriptures. Ur is the king of darkness; Rūhā is his mother and stands for totality of evil." (For mote details concerning the Persian Demon Āz, and her resemblances with the Mandaean Rūha, see Zaehner 1955: 166).

[655] Rūha has other epithets: ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܠܝܒܬ ܥܬܪ ܐܡܡܝܬ ܫܡܐ *rūha dqudša dlibat 'stra amamit šuma* "she is Rūha d-Qudša whose name is "Libat-Ištar-Amamit" (GRR p. 62: 19) Rūha d-Qudša is not mentioned in esoteric writings (SA p. 47).

[656] CP, p. 291 n. 2. Jonas believes that the perversion of the term *rūha* "spirit" to "donate the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion" (Jonas 1958: 72, n. 26).

[657] CP 291 n. 2.

prostitutes called *qadištu*.[658] We read in the Ginza that the other epithet of Rūha is, ܕܠܒܬ ܥܡܝܬ ܐܬܪܐ *dlibat 'stra amamit* "Libat-Ištar-Amamit."[659]

She conspired with the Planets to entrap Adam and install him in their congregation; in the earth of Tibil. She forged plans to seduce him with horns and flutes and seduce the whole tribe of Life and cut it off with her in the world. Rūha and her entourage practiced the mysteries of love in order to seduce the whole world. They took the living water and poured turbid water in it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and lust, through which the whole world are inflamed. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The world became drunk and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.[660]

Woe to those who have been tempted by Rūha for they shall be swallowed by the demon Karapiun "the Swallower":

> I reached that watch-house of Rūha d-Qudša who sits upon the mouth of Karapiun the Swallower (name of a demon) and (puts) the harp of lust on her shoulder . . . And she brings temptation. She speaks with pipes (or: zither) and calls upon the twelve men, the merchants, who believe in her.[661]

---

[658] Ringgren 1973: 81. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. However, Qadishtu is an Akkadian name meaning sacred women. In the temple at Erech they were called Nu-gig – the pure or spotless. (See Westenholz, 1989 pp. 245-265, esp. p. 250) On the other hand Jonas believes that the Rūha d-Qudša "the Holy Spirit" indicates the violent hostility of the Mandaeanss towards Christianity (Jonas, 1958: p. 72 n. 25), see also SA, p. 47 ff.).

[659] GRR p. 62: 19.

[660] GRR book 3 p. 125 ff.

[661] GRR p. 216: 22. The text:
ܐܬܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܡܛܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܡܬܒ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܩܪܦܝܘܢ ܒܠܥܝܢܐ ܘܫܪܒܐ ܕܣܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܟܬܦܗ . . . ܘܡܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܘܒܙܡܪܐ ܩܪܝܐ ܘܡܙܡܢ ܫܬܝܣܪ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܒܗ

Rūha assisted Ptahil (the Mandaean demiurge) in creating the physical world, infusing some of her secrets in this creation.[662] Ptahil created Adam after his image and Hawa (Eve) after the image of Rūha:

> Ptahil spoke to Rūha and her angels, "I will create a male after my image and female after your image. We shall call the male Adam and the female Hawa (Eve)."[663]

Rūha is an illusionist who can manipulate and mix times.[664] She appeared to ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ *adam br adam* Adam, the son of Adam, in the image of his wife (and sister) Hawa (Eve) and seduced him to fornicate with her.[665] But the messenger Manda d̲-Hiia could thwart her plans at the last moment and saved Adam, the son of Adam from her seduction.[666] She is connected with pollution and uncleanness; women in general are considered a source of pollution because of their nature.[667] The Mandaean legend tells us that Rūha disguised herself as "Anhuraita", Noah's wife, and Noah took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons: Ham, Yam and Yafet.[668]

---

662 GGR book 10 p. 287: 22 f.
663 GRR book 11 p. 321: 17 f.
[illegible]
664 GRR book 3, p. 137: 13.
665 GRR book 3, p. 137.
666 GRR book 3, p. 138.
667 Drower comments: "Women are a constant danger to ritual purity whenever Nature brings them into states of uncleanness: moreover, they belong to the Left, and Rūha, therefore, has more power over women than over men" (SA p. 73 n. 1).
668 MII p. 261.

§ 2.3.9.3 - The End of Rūha and her Believers:

At the end of the worlds Rūha, the Planets together with the wicked and the unbelievers will be swallowed by the great Leviathan 'Ur.[669]

> Rūha and *mšiha* (Jesus) and the Planets and all those souls who confess them, will call each other and reach each other, and lead each other by the hand. They are to be bound and fettered and then, like a pomegranate of lead, will depart and fall into 'Ur, the lord of Darkness, into his huge interior. (Then) smoke will wind up and fire will be fanned and consume 'Ur, the lord of Darkness and *'uat* Rūha, the liar and the Planets and all those souls who believe in them.[670]

---

[669] Pallis, 1926: 64.

[670] GRR book 5: 5 p. 236: 21f.

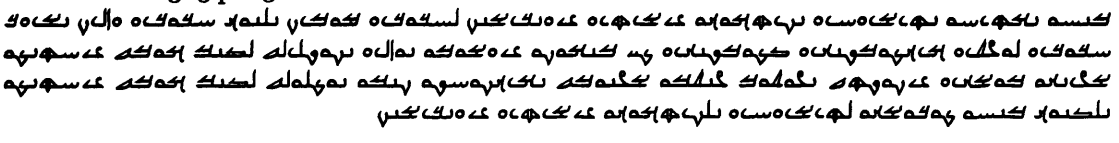
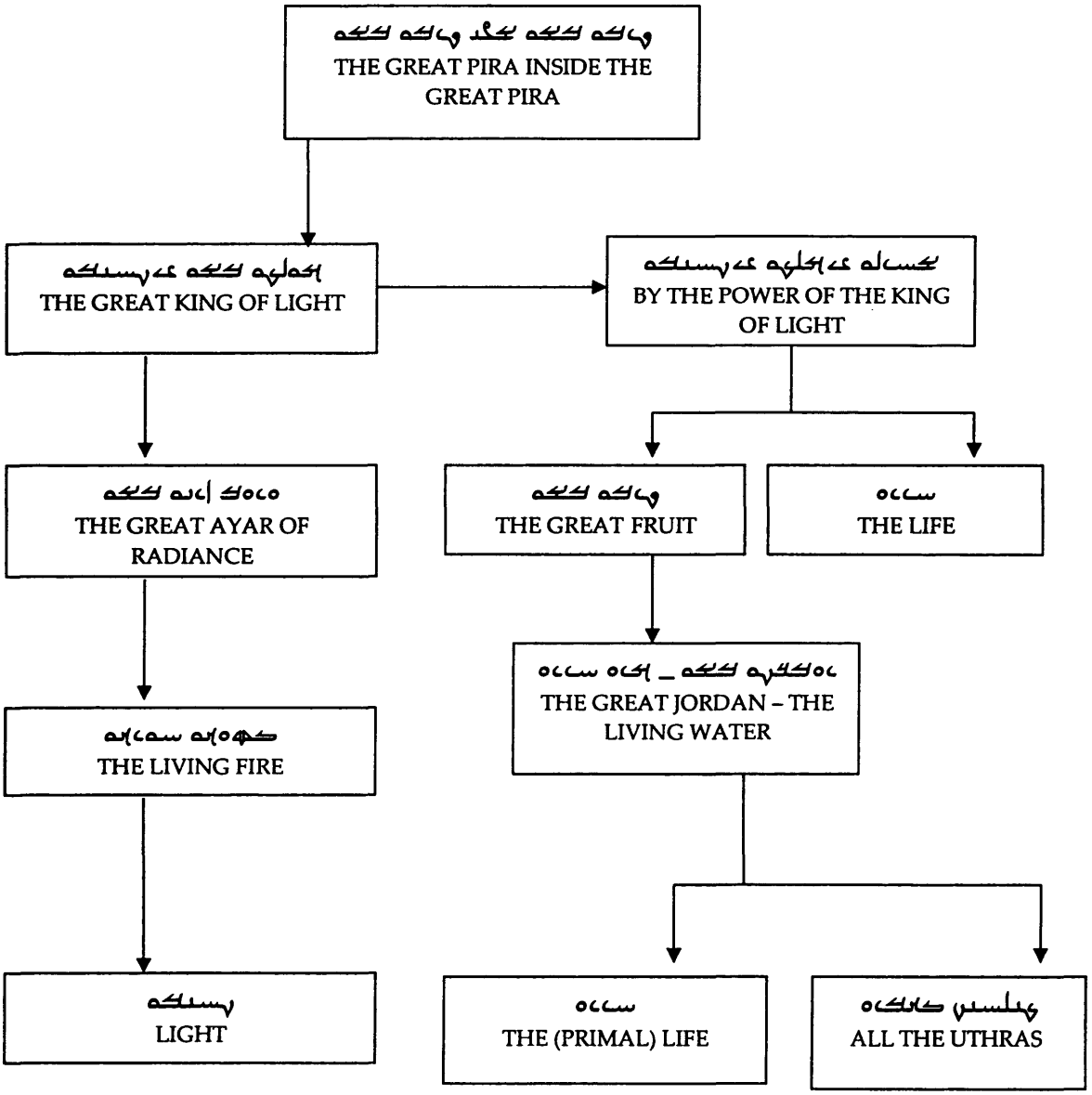


Chart C

GINZA RABA
TEXT 3 TRACTATE III
PAGES 91-92



§3. The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book "the Ginza Rba"

The Mandaean Text According to the Numeration of the Ginza Rba (GRS) used in this Research.

ࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊࡋࡀ ࡊࡍࡉࡍࡕࡅ ࡋࡍࡀࡅࡋࡀࡕ ࡓࡀࡕࡍࡀ ࡏࡔࡉࡉࡅ
ࡍࡉࡍࡔࡀࡕ ࡋࡊࡀࡄࡅࡉ ࡍࡍࡓࡅࡕࡀࡕ ࡕࡕࡀࡍࡉࡓࡀࡉ ࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡌࡔ
ࡅࡕࡉࡍ ࡓࡕࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡀࡕࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡀ
◎ ࡕࡄࡍࡕࡀࡉࡔࡍ ࡏࡔࡉࡉࡅ ࡕࡕࡅ ࡅࡁࡍࡓࡀ ࡍࡅࡉࡓࡀ
ࡄࡅࡕࡉࡕ ࡔࡀࡋࡀࡉࡅ ࡍࡉࡔࡋࡀ ࡋࡕࡋࡀ ࡕࡔࡀࡓࡀࡕ
ࡏࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡕ ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡊࡋ ࡅࡕ ࡏࡅࡔࡅ ࡕࡕ ࡁࡓࡕࡀࡓ
ࡍࡊࡋ ࡕࡕ ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ ࡓࡉ ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡓࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡊࡋ ࡀࡅࡀ
ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡓࡕࡀࡓ ࡓࡉ ࡏࡅࡁࡀࡓࡍ ࡍࡊࡋ ࡄࡉࡓࡋࡀ
ࡕࡓࡀࡔࡀࡓࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡍࡅࡁࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡁࡀࡓࡕ ࡍࡕࡀࡔࡍࡄ
ࡍࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡕࡀࡕࡍࡀࡅ ࡍࡕࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡍࡕࡔࡀࡓࡀࡕ
ࡍࡕࡕࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡍࡍࡀࡕࡕࡁ ࡍࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ ࡕࡍࡅ ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ
ࡁࡓࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡊࡋ ࡅࡔࡀ ࡅࡕࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡕ ࡄࡅࡕࡀࡓ
ࡍࡉࡕࡕࡍ ࡍࡔࡉࡀࡕࡍࡄ ࡕࡉࡓ ࡏࡍࡋࡉࡅ
ࡁࡀ

ࡕࡄࡍࡕࡀࡉࡔࡍ ࡏࡔࡉࡉࡅ ࡕࡕࡅ ࡍࡍࡕࡀࡉࡉࡅ ࡓࡕࡍ ࡅࡋࡕࡅ
ࡏࡍࡔࡕࡀ ࡅࡉࡓࡕࡅ ࡏࡕࡀࡅࡍࡅ ࡍࡔࡉࡍ ࡊࡕࡕࡀࡕࡅ ࡔࡀࡅࡓࡍ ࡍࡔ
ࡕࡀࡋࡅ ࡍࡕࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡕࡀࡕ ࡏࡄࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡓࡀ ࡕࡀࡕࡍࡀ
ࡏࡔࡀࡓ ࡓࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡅ ࡍࡍ ࡔࡀ ࡕࡀࡍ ࡕࡕࡉ ࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡍ
ࡔࡀ ࡕࡅࡉࡅ ࡕࡕࡉ ࡕࡅࡉࡅ ࡍࡍ ࡔࡀ ࡓࡕࡀࡍ ࡕࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡀࡕࡀ
ࡏࡔࡍ ࡓࡕࡍࡀ ࡅࡓࡕࡍ ࡕࡕࡕࡅ ࡅࡕࡕࡀࡍ ࡏࡍࡍࡄ
ࡉࡀࡔࡍ ࡕࡍࡍࡕ ࡍࡔࡀࡔࡍ ࡏࡕࡍࡄ ࡕࡕࡓࡔࡍ
ࡋࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡍࡕࡀ ࡕࡕࡀ ࡏࡍࡍࡄ ࡍࡔࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡓࡋࡀ
ࡏࡋࡉࡀ ࡍࡄࡍ ࡓࡕ ࡅࡕࡓࡓ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡍࡔࡕࡀ
ࡍࡕࡕࡀ ࡓࡕ ࡄࡓࡀࡉࡅ ࡕࡍࡔࡀࡓ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡔࡀࡍࡓࡀ

GRR 84

ﻋﻤﻠﻪ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻭﻟﺪ ﻭﻟﺪ ﺑﻴﺖ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﺑﻴﺖ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﻝ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ
ﻣﺎﻝ ﻭﻟﺪ ﻭﻟﺪ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻢ ﺃﻫﻠﻪ
ﺍﻟﻤﺎﻝ ﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻋﻤﻠﻪ
ﻣﻦ ﺑﻴﺖ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﻝ
ﺃﻫﻞ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﺑﻴﺖ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻭﻟﺪ ﻭﻟﺪ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ
ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ
ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ
ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ
ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ
ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ
ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ
ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ
ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ
ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ
ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﻝ ﻫﻢ ﻣﻦ

GRR 85

ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲟⲁⲥⲓⲧ ⲟⲥⲓⲙⲩⲉ ⲟⲥⲥⲁⲗ
ⲙⲁⲩⲩⲩⲁⲣ ⲩⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲉⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲩⲙⲩⲥ
ⲟⲥⲥⲏⲟⲁⲥⲓⲧ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲩⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲣⲥⲥⲟⲟ ⲏⲩⲟⲁⲕ
ⲟⲩⲥ ⲩⲏ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲓⲁⲉ ⲟⲙⲁⲗⲙ ⲟⲥⲓⲥ ⲩⲓⲓⲙ
ⲩⲓⲓⲉⲟⲁⲩⲟⲗ ⲩⲓⲟⲁⲥⲩⲉ ⲩⲟⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲩⲩⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲩⲏ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲗⲙ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲓⲓ
ⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲥⲏ ⲙⲁⲩⲩⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲉⲗⲥⲏⲩⲥⲓ ⲩⲓⲓⲉⲟⲙⲥ
ⲁⲗⲥⲥⲏⲁ ⲁⲗⲇⲟⲁⲥⲓ ⲩⲓⲓⲙⲥⲉⲗ ⲁⲗⲥⲥⲏⲁ
ⲣⲁⲩⲟⲁ ⲩⲣⲁⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲟⲥⲏⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲩⲣⲁⲙ ⲩⲓⲓⲙⲥⲉⲗ
ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲉⲁⲩ ⲥⲏⲟⲁⲕ ⲩⲣⲁⲙⲉ ⲩⲓⲓⲙⲥⲉⲗ
ⲩⲁⲗⲩ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲇⲓ ⲏⲥⲥⲏⲉ ⲓⲓ ⲏⲁⲩⲟ ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲟⲁⲥⲓⲥⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲥ ⲗⲇⲁⲏ ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲟⲁⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲩⲙⲩⲥ
ⲁⲩⲟ ⲩⲓⲓⲩⲥⲟ ⲁⲩⲟ ⲩⲓⲓⲗⲩⲁⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲙ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲓⲥ
ⲩⲙⲁⲩⲁ ⲓⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲥⲟⲩ ⲩⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲩⲥ
ⲩⲁⲗⲟⲥⲙⲟ ⲁⲗⲥⲥⲏⲁ ⲩⲓⲓⲁⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲩⲓⲓⲁⲗⲁⲙⲥⲕ
ⲗⲟⲓⲉⲉ ⲩⲟⲕⲉ ⲟⲏ ⲩⲥⲏ ⲩⲁⲓ ⲩⲏ
ⲙⲁⲩⲩⲩⲁⲣ ⲟⲏ ⲟⲉⲩⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲟⲣⲓⲙⲟ ⲁⲗⲥⲥⲏⲁ ⲩⲓⲓⲁⲙⲓ
ⲟⲉⲓⲩ ⲩⲁⲗⲥ ⲗⲁⲗⲟⲁⲕⲩ ⲟⲥⲗⲁ ⲩⲁⲗⲩⲩ
ⲩⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲟⲁⲥⲓⲩ ⲩⲥⲁⲁ ⲩⲁⲗⲥ ⲩⲁⲗ
ⲩⲓⲓⲩ ⲩⲁⲗⲥ ⲩⲁⲗ ⲁⲇⲟⲁⲕⲩ ⲟⲥⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲩⲩ
ⲩⲁⲏⲁ ⲁⲗ ⲏⲁⲥⲟⲥⲓ ⲩⲁⲩⲟⲥⲁⲗ ⲟⲓⲓ ⲩⲓⲓⲕⲁ
ⲟⲥⲓⲥ ⲓⲁ ⲩⲁⲏⲟ ⲩⲣⲁⲙⲉ ⲩⲩ ⲩⲁⲓⲥⲓⲥⲉ
ⲟⲓⲓⲉ ⲁⲁⲗⲥⲓ ⲏⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥⲁⲗ ⲟⲓⲓ ⲗⲁ ⲏⲁⲥⲟⲥⲓⲗ
ⲟⲓⲓⲉ ⲩⲁⲗⲥⲓ ⲗⲁ ⲩⲁⲏⲟ ⲩⲥⲁⲁⲥⲓⲗ ⲟⲥⲓⲥ
ⲟⲓⲓⲉ ⲩⲁⲗⲥⲓ ⲩⲁⲗ ⲏⲁⲥⲟⲥⲓⲗ ⲟⲓⲓ ⲩⲓⲓⲕⲁ
ⲟⲓⲓⲉ ⲁⲁⲗⲥⲓ ⲁⲁⲗ ⲏⲁⲩⲁⲩ ⲩⲁⲏⲁ ⲩⲣⲁⲙⲉ ⲟⲓⲓ

GRR 86

[illegible]

GRR 87

GRR 88

[illegible]

GRR 89

ھس ےلگھلہ لعلہ ھجلھبہ ہج ھگہوے
بسہ ےہھہ بھ ہھ ہاگہاہ اہگا ھھبھ
بھ بھگہبسہ ھھبسہ ھھ ہھہ ھگھہ
بھھھہ ھھھ بھھھے ھگھہ بسہ ےہھہ
بھھھہ بھاہاہ ھھھ بھھھہ بھھ
ھ بھھھہ ھھس لھ ھ بھلھہ بھھھہ
ھھے ےھہے ھگھہ ھگھ لھ ہھہبھہ
ھگھہ ھجھے ھگھھ ھصھے ھگھہ ھ بھلھہ
لھ ھگھھہ ھبھھ، ھ بھلھہ ھگھھھ
ھھ ھگھھہ بھھ.ہ بھ ھاھھہ ھس ھ بھ
ھگھھہ بھلھبھہ ھگھہ بھلھبھہ
ھس ھلگھہ ھاھ بھ ھگھےھھہ ھسہ ھگھہ
ھسہ بھھھہ ھھھ ھصھھہ ھھھ ھصھھہ
ھسہ ھھھہ ھھھ ھگھہ ھھھ ھسہ
ھگھہ ھھھہ ھھھھ ھھھ ھسہ ھگھہ
ھھھ ھھھہ ھگھےھھے ھ بھسھھہ
ھھھ ھھھہ ھھھ ھسہ ھھھھہ ھھھ
ھھھ ھھھہ ھھھ ھسہ ھھھھہ ھھھ
ھ بھھھہ ھھھ ھسہ ھھھھہ ھھھ
ھھھ ھھھہ ھھھ ھسہ ھھھھہ ھھھ
ھھھ ھھھہ ھھھ ھسہ ھھھھہ ھھھ

GRR 90

GRR 91

ەكىلى ھەمە ەلكىمكى ئىلمامىدە لىق ھىمكى
ەيۇھىم مىم ەكى مىم ەيۇھىم ەكىدە ئەمكى
ئەمەم ەكى ھىكىدە ەكىمەق ئىم ەكى
مىم ەكى ملىمكى ھىمە ئىلمامىدە ئىمۇكىس
ملىمكى ھىمە ھىلىس ۋكۇي ئىلمامىدە ئىمۇكىس
ەكى ەكىمكىس ەلكى ملىق ەلكى ەكىمكىس ملىقىدە
ەيۇكىمەك ھىكىدە ەھۋك ەكىلىك ەكىك ئىم
ەكىمەك ئىلمامىدە ەكىمە ئىم ەكى ەكىمە
لىق ھىمكى ئىكىۋكىمۋىدە لىقىدە ەكىۋەمكى
ئەكىدە ەكىمەك ئىم ەكى ەلكىمكى ئىلمامىدە
ئىمۇكىۋكىمكى ئىم ەكى ەكىۋەمكى ئىسىمەمۋك
ھەمس ھەم ەكى ئىكىدە ەھۋك ئىم ەكى
ئىلمام ۋى ەكىل ەكىك ەكىمۋك ەكىمۋكىدە ەمكىكىلى
ئەمكى ئىمۇمىمۋكە ەمس ەمس ھۋكىك ھىكىك
ئەمكى ەمس ەمس ئەمكى ەكىمە ئەمكى ئەمكى
ەلكىكىمۋ ەمس ئەمكى ەكىمە ەكىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمكىمۋ
ەكىمۋ ئىمۋ ەكىمۋ ەكىمۋ مىم ۋى مىم ەكىمۋ ەكىمۋ
ئەمكى ەكىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمۋ ەكىمكىمۋ ەكىمۋ ەكىمۋ
ەمۋ ەكىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمۋ ەكىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمۋ
ەھۋك ھىمە ەكىمۋ ەمۋ ئەمكى مىم ەكىمۋ
ملىمىكى مىم ەكىمكىمۋ ەلىمىم ەھۋك ئەمكى
مىم مىم ەكىمۋ ەكىمۋ ەمس ەكىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمۋ
ەكىمۋ ەكىمكىمۋ مىم ەكىمكىمۋ ھىمكىمۋىدە ەكىمۋ ەكىمۋ

GRR 92

GRR 93

[illegible]

GRR 94

ﻳﻮﻣﻪ ﺳﻮﻫﺮ ﻫﺮﻭﻳﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻣﺮ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺎﻣﻪ
ﻋﺒﺪﻭﻟﻼ ﻋﺒﺪﻟﻤﻮ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﺳﻴﻔﺎﻧﺎ ﻣﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ
ﻋﻤﺎﻟﻚ ﻣﻴﺎﻟﻮﻋ ﻋﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ ﻋﺒﻮﻫﺮ ﻋﻤﻮ ﻋﺒﺮ
ﻣﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ ﻳﻮﻣﻪ ﺳﻮﻫﺮ ﻋﻠﻮﻫ ﻋﺒﺎ ﺑﺎ
ﺳﻮﻫﺮ ﻋﺒﻮﻫ ﻋﺒﺪﻟﻤﻮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﺻﺒﻴﻮ
ﻋﺒﺪﻟﻤﻮ ﺑﺎ ﻣﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ ﻋﺒﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﺳﻮ
ﻫﺮﻭﻳﺎ ﻫﺎ ﻳﻮﻟﻤﺮﻭﻫﺎﻫ ﻳﻮﻣﻪ ﺳﻮﻫﺮ ﻋﺒﺒﻴﻮ
ﻣﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ ﻫﺎﻫﺮ ﺳﻮ ﻣﺒﺪﻟﻤﻮ ﻫﺎ ﻳﻮﻟﻤﺮﻭﻫﺮ
ﻋﺒﺪﻣﻪﻳﻮ ﻫﺎﻫﺮ ﻋﺒﺒﻴﻮ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻋﺒﺒﻴﻮ
ﻫﻮﻳﻮﻫﺮ ﻋﺒﺪﻟﻤﻮ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠ
ﺻﻤﻮ ﺑﺎ ﻳﻮﻟﻤﺮﻭﻫﺎﻫ ﻫﺎﻫﺎ ﻫﻮﻫﺮ ﻫﺎﻫﺎ
ﻫﻮﻳﻮﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻮﻳﻮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ
ﻫﻮﻳﻮﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻮﻳﻮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ
ﻫﻮﻳﻮﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻮﻳﻮ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠ ﺑﺎ ﻫﺮﻭﻫﺮ ﻫﻠﻪ

GRR 95

GRR 96

ھەرگىز ئەسلىدە ئۇ ئۆزىنى ئۆلتۈرمەكچى بولمىغان ئىدى. ئۇ ئۆزىنى ئۆلتۈرۈشنى ئويلى

ﻣﺎﻧﻰﻧﯩﯔ ﺋﯩﺴﺘﯩﻤﺎﺳﻰ ﺋﯩﺴﻼﻡ ﺋﻪﻗﯩﺪﯨﺴﯩﻨﯩﯔ ﺋﺎﺳﺎﺳﻰ ﻣﻪﺳﯩﻠﯩﺴﻰ ﺑﻮﻟﯘﭖ ﻣﻪﺳﯩﻠﯩﺴﻰ ﺋﯘﻗﯘﺗﻘﯩﻨ

GRR 98

ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻼﺕ ﻣﯿﮟ ﺍﺳﻼﻡ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮑﮯ ﺍﺻﻮﻝ ﺳﮯ
ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ ﮐﺮﻧﺎ ﺟﺎﺋﺰ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺍﮔﺮ ﮐﻮﺋﯽ ﺷﺨﺺ
ﺍﺳﻼﻡ ﮐﮯ ﺍﺻﻮﻟﻮﮞ ﺳﮯ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ ﮐﺮﮮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ
ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﺩﯾﺎ ﺟﺎﺋﮯ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﮔﺮ
ﺍﺳﮑﮯ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ ﮐﯽ ﻭﺟﮧ ﺳﮯ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ
ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﻮ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﭘﮩﻨﭽﺎ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺑﮭﯽ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ
ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ
ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ
ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ
ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﮯ
ﮐﺎ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ
ﺍﻟﺒﺘﮧ ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ
ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ
ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ
ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ
ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ
ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ
ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﮯ
ﮐﺎ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻟﺒﺘﮧ
ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ
ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ
ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﮯ
ﮐﺎ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻟﺒﺘﮧ
ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ
ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ
ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﮯ
ﮐﺎ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ
ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﺎ ﭘﮍﮮ ﮔﺎ ﺍﻟﺒﺘﮧ
ﺍﮔﺮ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻠﮧ ﻓﺴﺦ ﮐﺮﻧﮯ ﮐﺎ ﺳﺒﺐ ﺍﻧﺤﺮﺍﻑ
ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﺑﻠﮑﮧ ﮐﺴﯽ ﺩﻭﺳﺮﮮ ﺷﺨﺺ ﮐﺎ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ
ﮨﻮﺍ ﮨﻮ ﺗﻮ ﻭﮦ ﺍﺱ ﻧﻘﺼﺎﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺗﺎﻭﺍﻥ ﺑﮭﺮﻧﮯ
ﮐﺎ ﺫﻣﮧ ﺩﺍﺭ ﻧﮩﯿﮟ ﮨﻮﮔﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺍﺱ

GRR 99

ڪيڏو سنسڪرت ڪيترائي ٻولي ۾ هجڻ
سنسڪرت ساڳيو سنسڪرت ڪيڏو ڪيترائي
هجڻ جاري رهيو ۽ هن کي ٻولي
ڪنهن ڪنهن ڪري ڪري ڪري
ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري
ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري ڪري
ڪري ڪري ڪري

GRR 100

ﻣﺎﻳﻮﻟﺮ ﻣﺎﻳﻨﻮﺳﻴﺘﺲ ﺳﻴﺴﻴﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻬﻴﺴﺘﻮﻥ
ﻣﻴﺮﻯ ﻣﻴﺴﻮﺻﺲ ﺳﻴﺴﻴﻮﻥ ﻣﻴﺼﻮﻯ ﻟﻬﻴﺪﻯ
ﻟﻠﻰ ﻗﻮﺻﻮ ﺷﻬﺲ ﺳﻠﻠﻰ ﺍﻫﻮﻟﻠﻮ ﻣﻴﺴﻴﺴﻮ
ﻫﺴﻰﺮ ﻫﻠﻮﻯ ﻟﻠﻮ ﻟﻠﻰ ﻳﻮﻫﺲ ﻫﺴﻠﻮ
ﺳﻮﻭ ﻫﺴﻮ ﻣﻴﺼﻮﻯ ﻳﻮﻫﺴﻴﺮ ﻳﻮﻫﺲ ﻫﺴﻴﻮﻯ
ﻣﻴﻮﻫﺲ ﻣﺴﻴﻞ ﺳﻴﻠﻬﺲ ﻳﻮﻫﺲ ﺷﻬﻮ ﺳﻴ ﻟﻬﻰ
ﺳﻴﺴﺮ ﻣﻴﻮﻫﻰ ﻣﻴﺴﻮﻫﺲ ﺳﻠﻠﻰ ﺳﻴﻠﻬﻰ
ﻟﻠﻰ ﻗﻮﺻﻮ ﺷﻬﺲ ﺳﻠﻠﻰ ﻫﻮﻟﻠﻮ ﻣﻴﺴﻴﺴﻠﻮ
ﻫﺴﺮﻳﻴﺴﻴﺲ ﻫﺴﻠﻮ ﻫﻴﻮﻫﺲ ﻫﻴﺴﻴﺲ ﻗﻮﻭ ﻣﺴﻴﻮ
ﻳﻬﻴﺴﻴﺲ ﺷﻬﺲ ﻫﺴﻠﻮ ﺷﻬﺲ ﻫﺴﻠﻮ ﻟﻬﻰ ﺷﻬﺲ
ﻳﻬﻰ ﻫﻴﻮﻫﺲ ﻣﻴﺴﻴﺲ ﻟﻬﺴﻮﻫﺲ ﺭﻳﻮ ﻣﺴﻠﻬﺲ
ﻫﺴﻴﻰ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻳﻰ ﻫﻴﻮ ﻟﻮﻭ ﺳﻰ ﻟﻮﻭ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ
ﻫﺴﻮ ﻳﻰ ﺷﻮﻭﺲ ﻫﺴﻴﺲ ﻫﺴﻴﻬﻴﻰ ﻫﺴﻴﻬﺲ
ﻣﻠﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻠﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ
ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻴﻬﺲ ﻣﻴ

ﻣﻨﺼﻮﺭﺓ ﺍﻟﻤﻮﻟﺪ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻩ ﻋﺒﺪ ﻣﻨﺎﻑ ﻣﻦ ﻫﺎﺷﻢ ﺍﻟﻘﺮﺷﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﺗﻪ ﺁﻣﻨﺔ ﺑﻨﺖ ﻭﻫﺐ ﻣﻦ ﻋﺒﺪ ﻣﻨﺎﻑ ﺑﻦ ﺯﻫﺮﺓ ﺑﻦ ﻛﻼﺏ ﺑﻦ ﻣﺮﺓ ﺑﻦ ﻛﻌﺐ ﺑﻦ ﻟﺆﻱ ﺑﻦ ﻏﺎﻟﺐ ﺑﻦ ﻓﻬﺮ ﺑﻦ ﻣﺎﻟﻚ ﺑﻦ ﺍﻟﻨﻀﺮ ﺑﻦ ﻛﻨﺎﻧﺔ ﺑﻦ ﺧﺰﻳﻤﺔ ﺑﻦ ﻣﺪﺭﻛﺔ ﺑﻦ ﺇﻟﻴﺎﺱ ﺑﻦ ﻣﻀﺮ ﺑﻦ ﻧﺰﺍﺭ ﺑﻦ ﻣﻌﺪ ﺑﻦ ﻋﺪﻧﺎﻥ ﻣﻦ ﺳﻴﺪﻧﺎ ﺇﺳﻤﺎﻋﻴﻞ ﺑﻦ ﺫﺑﻴﺢ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺇﺑﺮﺍﻫﻴﻢ ﺧﻠﻴﻞ ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻤﻦ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻣﻦ ﺳﻴﺪﻧﺎ ﺁﺩﻡ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﺴﻼﻡ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻄﻴﻦ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺀ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﺘﺮﺍﺏ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻌﺪﻡ

GRR 102

ممک ومصد مملم رک مرم لمرومے لم مرم
رسلم ولے کمر مکومہ کمشومے ہ ومکصے
مرمشمص ومککرمک ومککرمک مرمشمص
مرمل کمرم لے کمرم لے ومہرمرے مرلم
لسرمک ہ مللہ مرصد مہرمرے ومہرمرے
مرمہ مرمرمل ہ مرمرمل مرمہ لممرمک
کمشمکرمرے ومللم ومللم لے کمشمکرمک
ومکمک رک مکلومے ومکمک ومکمکمک لے
ممک مرکرمک ممکرمے مکلک ممک ومکمکمک
ومہمکم مکممرم ومرمک ممکرمے مکلک مرکرمک
مرمصمے مرمرمم لمرومم مکمکل لمکرمکمک
رلمم رک مرمکصمے ممک ومہمے مرمرم
لمک رمرمک کمرمک رمک ومرمک رلمم رمکرمک
مرمکمے مہمکمک مکمکل مصمکمرل ملکمکرمے
مرمکمے مممکمک ملکمکرمے مک ہ مم
ومرمم مممکمک مرمکمے مرمکمے
رمک ممک ومرمم ممک مرمکمک رمکمک
ملکمکرمے لمک مکمم مرمے مکمک مکمکمک
مکمکمک مکمم رلمم رمکے مکمک مکمکمک
مرمکمے رک مرمے مرمے مکمکمک رمکمک
مکمکمک مکمکمک مرمکمک مرمے لم مکم مرمرے
رک مرمے رسلم رک مرمے لمکرمم مرمکمک
مکمم مرمے مرمے مکمکمک مکمکمک
مکمکمک مکمم مرمے مکمکمک مکمکمک
مکمکمک مکمم مرمے مکمکمک مکمکمک

GRR 103

[illegible]

GRR 104

GRR 105

ھسپ ۔ھسھم ۔د ۔ھک ۔ررھمسے
ھرھف ۔ھلپے ۔ھرپ ۔ک ۔ک ۔ھپرھک
ابھپ ۔ررھے ۔پھ ۔ک ابھپ ۔پلے ۔ھرپ
پھرھپ ۔پھسھھ ۔ک ھسپ ۔پھرپھک ۔ھک
ے ۔پھرپھک ۔پلسپ ۔پپے ۔پھھلپ ۔ھکھس
ابھپرھ ۔پھلے ۔ھرھے ۔ھسکھ ۔ے۔ک۔ک
ابھے ۔ھکھھپ ۔ھسپ ۔ھکھپ ۔ھرھسپ
ے ۔ھکھے ۔ھرلل ۔ھکھے ۔ھسلھ ۔ھسھ
ھے۔رک۔ک ھے۔ھ ۔ھسھ ۔ھک ۔ے۔ھ ۔ھ|ھ
ھ۔ے۔ھ ۔ھلھ ۔ھلھ ۔ھسھ ھے۔رک۔ک ۔ھے۔ھ
ابھرھ ۔ھے۔ھ۔ھ۔ل ھسھ ۔ھسھ ۔ھرھسپ
ے۔ھپ ۔پھھے۔ے ۔ھسپ ۔پک ۔ھلھ۔ھ
پھسھھ ۔ھے۔ھ۔ھ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ل ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے
ھپرھے ۔پھسپ۔ھ۔ل ۔ھپلھ۔ھ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے
پھسپ ۔پھھپ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے
ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے ۔ھ۔ھ۔ھ۔ے

GRR 106

ھسبہاکے ولکا ولاشھ ربھ سھ ھسکوکی
ولسھیکی ولسھکی ولکلو پلاسے رلسھیکی
ولکے ولکیکے ھ...کلولے ہی ولسپے ھوکی
لہ ولکشلو رلسھیکی ولسپے ھپھکے رکصھکی
لہ ولھوکیوکی کلی کا لہ سوھکیوھ ولاکلوکی
ولہ ولہ پسلپی کی پسے ہی ولکا پسلپی
ولہ ولہ پسلپی ولکا لہ ھوکیوکی ملکا
ولہ پسلپی ولملشکا لہ ھوکیوکی ملشکا
ھپے ولاے ولپوھی کی لہشہ کلکا ولہ
ھپے ولاے ولپوھی کی کیکولہس کیکولہس
ولسے ھپلکے ولہ کلیکا ولللوکی کپلکی
ولھوکلکا کہ ولکا کپلھ ولپلکی ھپلکی
ھپھکا ولہ ولھوکی کپلھ کلکا کیکے ولہ
ھپھکا ولہ ولھوکی کپلھ کلکا کیکے ولہ
ولکلہ ولہ کلکا ولہ ولھوکی کپلھ کلکا
ھوھھکے لہ ولہ ولھوکی کپلھ کلکا کیکے
ولکلہ ولسھہ کپلھ کلکا کیکے ولہ ولھوکی
لپلپیوھکی ولسھہ ولکے ملشکا ولہ سھہ
ولکلہ ولسھہ ولکا پلھکیوکی ولہسپلی
ولکلکی ہی ھپکے پلھکی ولکھکی کاھوپلی
ملکھسپوکی ولہ سہ کے کی ولہھکی ھپھسپ
ولشکلہ ولکھکی ولکلہ لہلی ولپلکی ھپکپلہ
ولشکلہ ولکھکی ولکلہ لہلی ولپلکی ھپکپلہ
ھوھھکے ملھسے ولپو ولکلوے ھپلپی
ملشکا ملشکا ھپلپی ھوھھکے ھپھسپ

GRR 107

ש בנ אנ לש אית ומשנ תלית ישמח
ישנלש ותבנות ותבנית ותשמנ ינשנ
תבלית אבינתבתית ותלנ ותכבת ותבש
תינשנ תישמחית שנכבנ ות שת ית שנכבנ
תלשות תלית ית ינשבתית שנש בתתית
ינשנ שלשנ שלשנ אית תלית ישמח
תלש תשתשתנ אנבלשנ ותבנת ישלנ
ינשנ תלש ינשנ שלשנ אנבנשנ ינבבנ ותשית
ינשנ תש ינפתנ ות שתבנ ותבנת ינשנ
ישבנות תלית תשבנות ינבנשנ ות
ישנלש תלית ישבנות ינשנ שלשנ
ינשנ תלש ינשנ שלשנ אנבנשנ ינבבנ
ינבנשנ תבנת ינשנ שלשנ אנבנשנ ינבבנ
ינשנ תלש

GRR 108

ەرلىۋسكل ەۋە ەصسىۋەل رىكەر
ەرسر رىسەلەسك ەر ەكلەر ەرەلك ەرەسر
ركىكل رك ەكىك ەرس ىك ەرىكر ركەەك
ەلكىكسەر ەلكەۋ كىۋە ەكىۋە ەلىەۋە
ەلەسك ەۋىكر ەلكىۋەسر ەصسكۋ ەصسكۋ
ىك ەۋكەۋر ەلەسك ەرىكەل ەۋك ەرىكەل
ەكلل ەرەكەر ەكىكەك ركىسۇ رەسىس ەۋىك
ەلكەەلە ەلكەۋ ەكلك ەرەۋ ەۋكەەد ىك
ەرىلەۇ ەكىۋە ەكىكەەلە ەرىكىك ەكىلۇ
ەىرىكەەلە كەۋۋ ەۋىك ەىرىۋەسر ەلەكر
ەكىكل ەلىۋل ەرلەەكر ەكى ەكىلۇل
كەەرىكر ەرەۋ كىۋ كەەرىك
كەك ەلەكك ەرىكەەە رىس ەۋىك ەرەكەۋەسك
ەرۋەۋ لىلك رىەۋىك رىۋەكەسىس ەلىۋر
ركۋە رىس ەۋىك ەرىكسەا ەكىۋەر ەرىۋىك
ەرىىلۋ ەۋەكك ەلىەەلۋ ەرەسك ەۋلىكك
ەكۋەر ىۋ ەرىكىەر ەرۋەكر ەرىكسۋ ەرىكسۋە
ەرۋەكل ەلىۋەۋ ەۋىر ەرلۋەك ەلىۋەۋ ەكىس
ەلۋە ەرەۋەكر ەكىەسلر ەۋەكىەل ەرۋسەك
ەرۋەكلەر ەۋىك ركەەر ەسرۋ ەلكىكەسكر
ەكەك ركەۋە ركۋىك ەرىەلل ەۋىك ەرىكس
ەكىسەكىر ركەۋە ەكىلەل ەكەك ەكىلەل
ەكىكەەر ركىسىك ەرىكل ەرەسىۋ ەرەسىۋ
ىك كەلەۋەكرر ەكىكەەك ەۋكىەەۋ ەۋكىەەۋ
ەرىكەلۋە ەرىكىر ەكىلەكر ۋەكىك ۋەك

GRR 109

ڪنڊيءَ جي ڪيڪيءَ سان سوڌو ڪيڪيءَ جي ڪنڊيءَ
ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ

GRR 111

GRR 112

[illegible]

GRR 113

GRR 114

GRR 115

GRR 116

ꢳꢦꢱꢤ ꢢꢱꢳꢦꢤ ꢢꢱꢤ ꢢꢱꢳꢦꢤ ꢢꢱꢤ
ꢠꢱꢱꢳꢤ ꢱꢳꢦꢤ ꢢꢳꢤ ꢢꢳꢦꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ
ꢱꢤ ꢳꢦꢤ ꢢꢱꢳ ꢦꢱꢠꢤ ꢳꢦꢤ ꢦꢤ ꢳꢦꢠꢦꢤ
ꢢꢱꢳꢦꢤ ꢢꢱꢤ ꢱꢳꢳꢠꢳꢱꢳ ꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢦꢱꢠꢤ ꢠꢦꢱꢤ
ꢢꢱꢤ ꢱꢳꢦꢠꢦꢱꢳ ꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢦꢱꢠꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢱꢤ ꢦꢤ
ꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢦꢱꢠꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ ꢦꢤ
ꢳꢦꢤ ꢳꢦꢤ ꢦꢱꢳꢠ ꢢꢱꢢꢱꢤ ꢱꢤ ꢦꢳꢠꢱ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ
ꢠꢱꢱ ꢳꢦꢱꢦꢤ ꢦꢱꢳꢠ ꢢꢱꢢꢱꢤ ꢱꢤ ꢦꢳꢠꢱꢦꢠ
ꢢꢱꢤꢱꢳ ꢱꢳꢠꢠꢦꢤ ꢢꢱꢦꢱꢠ ꢱꢳꢠꢦꢱ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ ꢳꢦꢦꢤ
ꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢳꢦꢱꢦꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢢꢱꢦꢱꢠ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢱꢤ
ꢳꢦꢤ ꢳꢦꢱꢱꢤ ꢦꢱꢳꢠ ꢳꢦꢱꢦꢳ ꢱꢤ ꢦꢳꢠꢱ ꢳꢦꢱꢤ
ꢳꢦꢱꢱꢤ

GRR 117

ﻣﯽ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﺎ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﺎ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻧﺪﮬﺘﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ
ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ
ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ
ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ
ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ
ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ
ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ
ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ
ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ
ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ
ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ
ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ
ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ ﺗﮭﯽ ﺍﻭﺭ ﺍﺳﮯ ﺑﺎﻟﻮﮞ
ﮐﻮ ﺳﻨﻮﺍﺭﻧﮯ ﮐﮯ ﻟﺌﮯ ﺍﻥ ﮐﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﻌﻤﺎﻝ ﮐﺮﺗﯽ

GRR 118

ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲛⲥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲉⲥⲙⲁⲉ ⲟⲥⲱⲟⲥⲣⲁ ⲉⲥⲗⲟⲥ
ⲗⲏⲩ ⲡⲥⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲏ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲫⲟⲥⲏ ⲡⲥⲥⲥⲩ
ⲉⲙⲁⲉⲥⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲥⲩⲟ ⲟⲫⲥⲏⲁⲉ ⲟⲥⲩⲉⲩ ⲉⲥⲗⲟ
ⲗⲁⲉⲱⲣⲩ ⲡⲁⲩⲓⲁⲥ ⲱⲩ ⲡⲥⲥⲥⲩ ⲉⲥⲉⲟⲥⲥⲩ ⲡⲥⲥⲥⲩ
ⲟⲓⲁⲉⲟⲥⲩⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲗⲥⲏ ⲁⲣⲥⲏⲩⲥⲁⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲩⲁⲱⲟⲩⲥ
ⲡⲥⲏ ⲩⲁⲥⲏⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲥⲥⲩⲁⲏ ⲗⲁ ⲩⲁⲉⲩⲫⲁ
ⲩⲓⲁⲱⲗ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲏ ⲁⲗⲁⲟⲫ ⲇⲥⲱ ⲏⲓⲥⲗ ⲗⲟⲓⲥⲓⲣ ⲏⲁⲇⲥⲏ
ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲏ ⲁⲗⲇⲥⲓⲣ ⲟⲣⲓⲁⲉⲓⲣ ⲁⲩⲁⲥⲏ ⲟⲩⲫⲟⲓⲁⲗ ⲟⲥⲗⲟ
ⲟⲓⲇⲉⲁⲗ ⲟⲓⲉⲉ ⲏⲓⲥⲗ ⲟⲫⲉⲟⲟ ⲱⲩ ⲟⲥⲗⲟ ⲩⲓⲁⲱⲗ
ⲏⲁⲉⲉⲩ ⲁⲱⲇ ⲟⲥⲗⲟ ⲏⲓⲥⲥⲥ ⲁⲗⲩⲁⲭⲏⲟ ⲉⲥⲩⲥ
ⲩⲁⲥⲣⲁⲁⲥⲏ ⲱⲩ ⲟⲣⲁⲏⲥⲩⲁⲥ ⲏⲁⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲥⲥⲓⲱⲉ
ⲟⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲓⲁⲓⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲗⲇ ⲏⲟⲉⲁⲫ
ⲉⲩⲁⲁⲥⲁ ⲟⲓⲫⲩⲁⲩⲓⲣⲉ ⲟⲥⲓⲱⲁⲁ ⲡⲥⲥⲥ ⲁⲱⲟⲥⲣⲁⲫ
ⲡⲱⲥⲏⲩ ⲏⲥⲥⲟ ⲱⲩ ⲟⲓⲁⲁⲓ ⲡⲥⲥⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲫⲟⲥⲏ ⲡⲗⲗⲇ
ⲟⲓⲥⲏⲫⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲏ ⲟⲥⲗⲟ ⲁⲗⲩⲓⲥ ⲩⲁⲥⲏⲁ ⲟⲥⲱⲟⲥⲣⲁ
ⲉⲩⲁⲁⲥⲁ ⲡⲱⲥⲁⲉⲥⲥⲩⲣⲉ ⲏⲥ ⲟⲗⲗⲟⲫⲥⲏ ⲗⲉⲱⲥⲥ
ⲟⲥⲥⲩⲫⲥ ⲩⲁⲟ ⲟⲥⲱⲁⲏ ⲟⲥⲓⲥ ⲏⲥⲥⲓ ⲟⲱⲁⲏ
ⲩⲁⲗⲩ ⲟⲥⲥⲟ ⲟⲥⲗⲟ ⲗⲩⲓⲥ ⲩⲁⲟⲥⲥⲓⲥⲗⲟ ⲱⲥⲥⲩ
ⲟⲥⲗⲟ ⲩⲓⲁⲱⲥⲓ ⲫⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲗⲗⲁⲗⲟⲏⲫⲥⲩⲁⲗⲗ ⲟⲱⲥⲱⲏ
ⲡⲥⲏ ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲁⲩⲩ ⲩⲁⲟ ⲩⲁⲗⲫⲓ ⲩⲁⲱⲱⲥⲟⲣⲉ ⲁⲏⲁⲉⲓ
ⲱⲱⲥⲓ ⲏⲁⲉⲥⲣⲉ ⲟⲁⲟⲏ ⲩⲁⲟ ⲗⲗⲩⲥⲏⲟ ⲁⲁⲏⲉⲟⲟ
ⲟⲫⲓⲥⲥⲣⲉ ⲱⲱⲥⲓ ⲩⲁⲥⲥⲏⲉⲓ ⲉⲥⲱⲏⲓ ⲁⲗⲱⲥⲏⲏ
ⲡⲥⲥⲥⲩ ⲟⲥⲗⲗⲁⲩⲓ ⲁⲥⲱⲥⲏ ⲩⲁⲁⲱ ⲩⲟⲁⲁⲩⲥⲏ
ⲟⲥⲱⲟⲟ ⲟⲥⲥⲩⲟ ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲁⲩⲩ ⲟⲥⲩⲱⲥ ⲩⲁⲟⲁⲥⲟⲩ
ⲟⲫⲁⲁ ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲁⲩⲩ ⲡⲥⲗⲁⲁⲩⲩ ⲟⲁⲫⲱⲫⲁ ⲟⲗⲗⲟⲫⲁ

GRR 119

[illegible]

GRR 120

GRR 121

GRR 122

GRR 123

ⵓⵔⵖⵍⵍⵓⵙⵏ ⵓⵙⵙⵍ ⵍⵍⵉⵙⵓⵔⵜ ⵢⵙⵙⵓⵔ ⵜⵓⵏⵖⵜ
ⵓⵙⵙ ⵓⵏⵏ ⵓⵔⵜⵓⵎ ⵓⵙⵍⵓ ⵢⵙⵍⵏⵖ ⵓⵍⵍⵓⵙⵏⵔ
ⵓⵙⵙ ⵓⵏⵏ ⵓⵔⵜⵓⵎ ⵓⵙⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵔⵓⵜⵜⵓⵖⵜⵏⵔ
ⵓⵜⵓⵏⵜ ⵓⵔⵜⵓⵉ ⵓⵡⵓⵔⵜ ⵓⵔⵓⵎⵓⵍ ⵢⵜⵉⵓⵎ ⵓⵉⵙⵓⵍ
ⵓⵙⵜⵜⵜ ⵍⵜⵓⵍⵖ ⵓⵏⵏ ⵓⵏⵏⵍⵜ ⵓⵔⵓⵎⵙ ⵍⵜⵙⵓⵔ
ⵓⵙⵔⵓⵎ ⵢⵙⵍⵏⵖ ⵢⵙⵉⵏ ⵎⵖ ⵓⵔⵜⵍⵖ
ⵍⵔⵍ ⵓⵜⵖⵓⵎⵙⵜ ⵢⵙⵜⵓⵙⵙⵖⵓⵢ ⵜⵜⵔⵓⵙ ⵓⵜⵔⵓⵙⵏⵜⵜ
ⵍⵜ ⵢⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵙⵜ ⵓⵜⵖⵓⵎⵙⵜ ⵍⵔⵍ ⵢⵙⵜⵓⵙⵙⵖⵓⵢ
ⵢⵙⵜⵙⵖⵢⵓ ⵜⵜ ⵍⵙⵖⵢ ⵢⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵙⵜ ⵍⵙⵙⵖ ⵢⵙⵜⵙⵖⵢⵓ
ⵢⵜⵜⵏⵜ ⵓⵜⵜⵏⵍ ⵍⵙⵙⵖ ⵢⵙⵜⵙⵖⵢⵓ ⵜⵜ ⵢⵓⵙⵜⵙⵖⵢ
ⵎⵖ ⵢⵍⵜⵜⵜⵙⵏⵍ ⵢⵍⵙⵔ ⵜⵖⵔ ⵢⵖⵔⵓⵍⵙ ⵢⵍⵙ
ⵢⵜⵡⵍⵖ ⵓⵔⵜⵍⵖ ⵢⵜⵔⵓⵍⵖ ⵓⵏⵏⵜ ⵢⵓⵜⵍ ⵙⵜ
ⵜⵜⵍⵙⵔⵓⵍⵔ ⵓⵜⵜ ⵜⵜ ⵢⵜⵜⵢⵜⵜ ⵓⵔⵜⵏⵏⵜⵍ
ⵔⵏⵏⵏⵍ ⵓⵜⵏⵏ ⵢⵜ ⵔⵜⵔⵢⵜⵜ ⵓⵔⵜⵏⵏⵜⵍ
ⵔⵜⵓⵏⵏ ⵜⵓⵏⵏⵍ ⵔⵜⵓⵍ ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵍ ⵜⵓⵏⵏⵍ
ⵓⵔⵜⵏⵏⵜⵍ ⵓⵜⵙⵓⵜⵜⵓⵔ ⵔⵜⵜⵜ ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵍ ⵜⵜⵍ
ⵜⵜⵜ ⵓⵏⵜⵜⵜⵍ ⵜⵜⵙⵔⵓⵍ ⵓⵜⵙⵓⵜⵜⵍ ⵓⵔⵜⵏⵏⵜⵍ
ⵓⵔⵜⵓⵙⵏ ⵓⵔⵓⵍ ⵔⵜⵜⵔⵓⵍ ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵍ ⵜⵜⵜⵍ
ⵓⵜⵙⵔ ⵓⵜ ⵓⵔⵖⵍⵍ ⵓⵔⵓⵍ ⵔⵜⵜⵔⵓⵍⵔ ⵜⵙⵖⵢⵜⵜ
ⵔⵡⵓⵏⵔ ⵓⵡⵓⵏ ⵍⵓⵜⵜ ⵍⵏⵏⵓⵜⵜ ⵢⵜⵜⵍⵖ
ⵍⵓⵜⵜ ⵍⵏⵏⵓⵜⵜ ⵓⵜⵜⵍ ⵢⵙⵍⵏⵖ ⵢⵜ ⵜⵙⵡⵔⵍ
ⵍⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵜ ⵓⵔⵖⵏ ⵢⵜ ⵜⵜⵍⵍ ⵔⵜⵜⵓⵓⵍ ⵙⵡⵔ
ⵢⵜ ⵓⵔⵜⵜⵢⵜⵙ ⵓⵔⵖⵍⵍ ⵓⵜⵜⵍ ⵔⵜⵜⵔⵓⵍⵔ ⵓⵏⵏⵜ
ⵜⵜⵜⵔⵍ ⵜⵜⵜⵍ ⵓⵔⵜⵍⵖ ⵓⵔⵖⵍⵍ ⵓⵜⵜⵍ ⵓⵔⵜⵜⵢⵜⵙ

GRR 124

ⵕⵉⵎ ⵜⵉⵏⵎⵍ ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ ⵜⵉⵣⵣⵉⵍⵜ ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ
ⵏⵏⵉ ⵜⵓⵖⵓⵔⵜ ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ ⵜⵉⵔⵔⵓ ⵜⵉⵔⵓⵍⵉⵔ ⵏⵉⵖⵓⵔ
ⵔⴰⵔ ⵓⵏⵖⵓⵔ ⵔⵉⵔⵔⵓ ⵙⵖ ⵏⵙⵙ ⵓⵢⵔⵉⵔ ⵜⵉⵍ
ⵜⵓⵖⵓⵔⵜ ⵜⵉⵔⵔⵓ ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ ⵜⵉⵣⵣⵉⵍⵜ ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ ⵢⵉⵎ
ⵜⵉⵡⴰⵔⵉ ⵢⵉⵎ ⵙⵖ ⵢⵎⵢⵔⵙ ⵓⵢⵔⵉⵔ ⵓⵢⵔⵉ ⵏⵏⵉ
ⵙⵖ ⵜⵉⵎⵎ ⵢⴰⵏⵜ ⵢⵔ ⵍⵄⵉⵙⵔⵙ ⵜⵉⵔⵔⵙ ⵜⵉⵔⵉⵍ
ⵢⵔ ⵏⵙⵎⵉⵔⵙ ⵜⵍⵢⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵜⵉⵔⵉⵍ ⵜⵄⵉⵙ
ⵜⵙⵜⵉⵔⵏⵍ ⵜⵉⵔ ⵍⵜⵔⵔ ⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵔⵉⵔ
ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵜⵙⵜⵉⵔⵏⵍ ⵢⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵉ ⵓⵢⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵍⵜⵉⵉ ⵓⵔⵔⵍ
ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵓ ⵢⵙⵙⵓ ⵢⵔⵔⵉ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓ ⵙⵏⵍⵙ ⵏⵜⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜ ⵍⵜⵔⵔⵉ ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵙⵜⵔⵔ
ⵙⵙⵓ ⵢⵔⵔⵍ ⵓⵢⵜ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵍⵜ ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵏⵜⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵢⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵍⵔⵔ ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓ ⵜⵜⵔⵔ ⵙⵖ
ⵜⵔⵔⵉⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵍⵔⵔ ⵢⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵍⵔⵔ ⵍⵔⵔ
ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵉⵔ ⵍⵔⵔⵉⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓ ⵍⵔⵔⵉⵔ
ⵙⵖ ⵓⵢⵔⵔⵓ ⵜⵍⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵜⵔⵔⵉⵔ ⵜⵍⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ
ⵏⵏⵉ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ
ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ
ⵙⵖ ⵓⵢⵔⵔⵓ ⵜⵍⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵏⵏⵉ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ
ⵙⵖ ⵏⵙⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵍⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ
ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵙⵖ ⵓⵢⵔⵔⵓ ⵜⵍⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ
ⵏⵏⵉ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ ⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵏⵏⵜⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵓⵖⵙ
ⵙⵙ ⵙⵖ ⵓⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵢⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔ ⵔⵔⵜⵔⵔⵙ

GRR 125

ملكك لدكي يسيو سي ملكك لدكي
ەكىمكي يسيو ەكىمكي لىيي سد سي ەككەك
سك كىكىوەكي ەكىمكي ەكىلىل يكيو ەكىلىل
ەككىس كىككىكسكي ەكيكس كىكىكلي سك
كىمكىيىكي كىكىكىسكي ەكىلىك ەكىس ەكىلىك
ەيىسكي ەكىلىك ەيىمكىي ەكىلىك ەمكىي
ىلىەي يىمكىكي لىيىمكىكي ىلىەي ەكىمكي
ەكىيىمك ەكىمكي كىصكىكي كىكلل ەكىمكي
ەكىوك كىوكي كىصكىكىل يىكك سد ەكىككىك
سي ەكىل ەكىلى ەكىيىكى ەكىيىكىك ەيىوكك
ىكىمكىسكك ەيو يىيىمكىكك ەكىمك كىوكىسكك
ەكىلىك ەيىكىكل كىكىكى كى ىل
ەكىمكىكىك ەكىكىكى ىسو ەكىكىل يىكىمكىكك
ەكىكىك ىسو ەكىكىل يىكىمكىكك ەكىككىك
ەكىكىل يىلكىكىك ىكىمكك ەكىمكىكك ەسي
يىيىكىمك ەيىكككىك كى ەكككىكىك ىسو
ەكىمكىسكىك سىكك ەسەكىمكىك ىسو ەكىكىك
ەكىكىك ەيىكىك ەكىمكىسكك ەكىمكىك
ەكىكىكىك ەكىك ىكىكىكىك كلكىصكىك
سي ەكىلىك يىكىل ەكىصكىي كلكىصكى ەكىسك
ەكىمكىكك ەسي ەكىكىك ەكىكىك ەكىكى ەلىه
كىكىك كىكىل كىكىسكي ەكىيىسكي كىوك ەكىكىك
ەكىكىك كىكىل كىكىكي ەكىككىكى ەكىمكىي
ەيىسكي كىكىسكك ەكىكىسكك كىسكىي
ەسىسكي كىكىكي كىكىل كىكىك كىكىكي

GRR 126

GRR 127

GRR 128

[illegible]

GRR 129

ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﺴﻮﺭﺓ ﻣﻜﻴﺔ ﻭﻫﻲ ﺛﻼﺙ ﻭﺳﺒﻌﻮﻥ ﺁﻳﺔ ﻭﺛﻤﺎﻥ ﺭﻛﻮﻋﺎﺕ
ﺑﺴﻢ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻤﻦ ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻴﻢ ﺍﻟﺤﻤﺪ ﻟﻠﻪ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺧﻠﻖ
ﺍﻟﺴﻤﻮﺍﺕ ﻭﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻭﺟﻌﻞ ﺍﻟﻈﻠﻤﺎﺕ ﻭﺍﻟﻨﻮﺭ ﺛﻢ ﺍﻟﺬﻳﻦ
ﻛﻔﺮﻭﺍ ﺑﺮﺑﻬﻢ ﻳﻌﺪﻟﻮﻥ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺧﻠﻘﻜﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻃﻴﻦ ﺛﻢ
ﻗﻀﻰ ﺃﺟﻼ ﻭﺃﺟﻞ ﻣﺴﻤﻰ ﻋﻨﺪﻩ ﺛﻢ ﺃﻧﺘﻢ ﺗﻤﺘﺮﻭﻥ
ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺴﻤﻮﺍﺕ ﻭﻓﻲ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻳﻌﻠﻢ ﺳﺮﻛﻢ ﻭﺟﻬﺮﻛﻢ
ﻭﻳﻌﻠﻢ ﻣﺎ ﺗﻜﺴﺒﻮﻥ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺗﺄﺗﻴﻬﻢ ﻣﻦ ﺁﻳﺔ ﻣﻦ ﺁﻳﺎﺕ
ﺭﺑﻬﻢ ﺇﻻ ﻛﺎﻧﻮﺍ ﻋﻨﻬﺎ ﻣﻌﺮﺿﻴﻦ ﻓﻘﺪ ﻛﺬﺑﻮﺍ ﺑﺎﻟﺤﻖ
ﻟﻤﺎ ﺟﺎءﻫﻢ ﻓﺴﻮﻑ ﻳﺄﺗﻴﻬﻢ ﺃﻧﺒﺎء ﻣﺎ ﻛﺎﻧﻮﺍ ﺑﻪ
ﻳﺴﺘﻬﺰﺋﻮﻥ ﺃﻟﻢ ﻳﺮﻭﺍ ﻛﻢ ﺃﻫﻠﻜﻨﺎ ﻣﻦ ﻗﺒﻠﻬﻢ ﻣﻦ
ﻗﺮﻥ ﻣﻜﻨﺎﻫﻢ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻣﺎ ﻟﻢ ﻧﻤﻜﻦ ﻟﻜﻢ ﻭﺃﺭﺳﻠﻨﺎ
ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎء ﻋﻠﻴﻬﻢ ﻣﺪﺭﺍﺭﺍ ﻭﺟﻌﻠﻨﺎ ﺍﻷﻧﻬﺎﺭ ﺗﺠﺮﻱ ﻣﻦ
ﺗﺤﺘﻬﻢ ﻓﺄﻫﻠﻜﻨﺎﻫﻢ ﺑﺬﻧﻮﺑﻬﻢ ﻭﺃﻧﺸﺄﻧﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﻌﺪﻫﻢ
ﻗﺮﻧﺎ ﺁﺧﺮﻳﻦ ﻭﻟﻮ ﻧﺰﻟﻨﺎ ﻋﻠﻴﻚ ﻛﺘﺎﺑﺎ ﻓﻲ ﻗﺮﻃﺎﺱ
ﻓﻠﻤﺴﻮﻩ ﺑﺄﻳﺪﻳﻬﻢ ﻟﻘﺎﻝ ﺍﻟﺬﻳﻦ ﻛﻔﺮﻭﺍ ﺇﻥ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺇﻻ
ﺳﺤﺮ ﻣﺒﻴﻦ ﻭﻗﺎﻟﻮﺍ ﻟﻮﻻ ﺃﻧﺰﻝ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﻣﻠﻚ ﻭﻟﻮ
ﺃﻧﺰﻟﻨﺎ ﻣﻠﻜﺎ ﻟﻘﻀﻲ ﺍﻷﻣﺮ ﺛﻢ ﻻ ﻳﻨﻈﺮﻭﻥ ﻭﻟﻮ ﺟﻌﻠﻨﺎﻩ
ﻣﻠﻜﺎ ﻟﺠﻌﻠﻨﺎﻩ ﺭﺟﻼ ﻭﻟﻠﺒﺴﻨﺎ ﻋﻠﻴﻬﻢ ﻣﺎ ﻳﻠﺒﺴﻮﻥ ﻭﻟﻘﺪ
ﺍﺳﺘﻬﺰﺉ ﺑﺮﺳﻞ ﻣﻦ ﻗﺒﻠﻚ ﻓﺤﺎﻕ ﺑﺎﻟﺬﻳﻦ ﺳﺨﺮﻭﺍ ﻣﻨﻬﻢ
ﻣﺎ ﻛﺎﻧﻮﺍ ﺑﻪ ﻳﺴﺘﻬﺰﺋﻮﻥ ﻗﻞ ﺳﻴﺮﻭﺍ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﺛﻢ ﺍﻧﻈﺮﻭﺍ

GRR 130

ᠵᠠᠰᠠᠯ ᠰᠡᠮᠵᠣᠰ ᠰᠡᠮᠵᠣᠰ ᠬᠡᠰᠡᠯᠡᠭ ᠬᠣ ᠣᠷᠬᠣᠭ
ᠶᠰᠢᠨᠢ ᠬᠡᠭᠡᠭ ᠬᠡᠭ ᠶᠠ ᠰᠣᠶᠣᠭᠣᠭ ᠣᠷᠬᠣᠭ
ᠣᠴᠢᠬᠣᠭ ᠠᠷᠢᠭᠤᠭᠴᠢᠯᠠᠰᠠᠭ ᠶᠰ ᠣᠶᠰᠢᠬᠡᠭ
ᠣᠴᠡᠭᠡᠰᠢᠭ ᠬᠡᠭ ᠶᠰᠢᠨᠢ ᠵᠠᠯ ᠣᠴᠢᠭ ᠣᠯᠭᠡᠰᠠᠨ
ᠣᠢᠷᠬᠠᠭ ᠰᠣᠭᠣ ᠠᠰᠢᠨ ᠣᠰᠢᠭ ᠰᠣᠭ ᠣᠰᠢᠭᠠ
ᠠᠯᠢᠬᠠᠭ ᠶᠠᠭᠠ ᠣᠷᠢᠯᠠᠰᠠᠭᠠ ᠣᠴᠢᠭ ᠣᠢᠷᠬᠠᠭ
ᠣᠨᠣᠭᠠᠭ ᠣᠰᠰᠭ ᠣᠭᠬᠠᠯᠠᠭᠠ ᠣᠴᠢᠭ ᠠᠰᠣ ᠠᠯᠢᠨ
ᠠᠯᠠᠰᠯᠠᠭ ᠡᠷᠢᠭᠡᠭᠰᠡᠭ ᠶᠠᠭᠠ ᠶᠠᠰᠯᠠᠭ ᠠᠴᠠ
ᠬᠡᠭ ᠶᠠ ᠣᠰᠠᠭ ᠠᠯᠠᠰᠠᠭ ᠠᠯᠠᠰᠠᠭ ᠣᠰᠠᠭ
ᠳᠡᠭ ᠣᠰᠢᠰᠭ ᠰᠢᠭᠡᠨ ᠣᠰᠰᠭ ᠶᠠ ᠬᠡᠰᠡᠭ
ᠰᠢᠭᠡᠨ ᠣᠰᠢᠬᠠᠰᠢᠯ ᠣᠰᠠᠭᠢᠭᠠᠯᠠᠭ ᠡᠷᠢᠭᠡᠭ
ᠠᠯᠢᠭᠠ ᠣᠸᠰᠢᠭᠤᠯᠯ ᠡᠷᠢᠭᠡᠭ ᠳᠡᠭ ᠣᠰᠢᠭ
ᠠᠷᠰᠤᠭᠠ ᠠᠯᠤᠯ ᠰᠠᠭᠠᠭ ᠣᠸᠰᠢᠭᠤᠯᠯ ᠠᠯᠢᠭᠠ
ᠰᠠ ᠶᠠ ᠣᠢᠰᠠ ᠠᠯᠢᠭᠠ ᠶᠠᠷᠪᠢᠭᠯᠡᠭ ᠬᠠᠭᠣ
ᠬᠯᠠᠭ ᠯᠣᠣ ᠣᠰᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠡᠰᠡ ᠬᠡᠭᠭ ᠠᠯᠰᠠᠭᠠ
ᠣᠢᠯ...ᠭ ᠯᠠ ᠴᠢᠭᠠᠰᠠ ᠬᠯᠠᠭ ᠠᠯᠬᠢᠭᠠᠭ ᠰᠢᠯᠢ
ᠣᠰᠤᠷᠬᠠᠭᠴᠢ ᠣᠴᠠᠭᠠᠷᠴᠢᠭᠤ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠣ ᠠᠷᠬᠠᠰᠭᠠᠭ
ᠣᠢᠭ ᠶᠠ ᠶᠰᠢᠨᠢᠭᠡ ᠶᠢᠣᠭᠠ ᠶᠠ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ
ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠣ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠣ ᠣᠭᠬᠠᠭᠠᠰ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠣ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠡᠰᠭᠡᠭ
ᠣᠨᠣᠭᠠᠭ ᠰᠢᠭᠡᠭ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠶᠰᠢᠯᠢᠰᠭᠡ ᠣᠭᠬᠴᠠᠰᠠ
ᠶᠰᠤᠭᠤᠯᠠᠭᠴᠢ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠠᠭᠡᠭ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠬᠡᠰᠡᠭ
ᠶᠠᠰᠢᠨ ᠣᠢᠭ ᠣᠨᠣᠭᠠᠭ ᠶᠠᠯᠢᠨ ᠰᠠᠭᠠᠭᠴᠢᠭ ᠣᠴᠢᠭ
ᠣᠢᠭ ᠯᠠ ᠯᠠᠭᠠᠭᠴᠢᠶᠠᠯ ᠶᠠᠯᠢᠨ ᠣᠭᠬᠠᠭᠴᠢᠭ ᠣᠴᠢᠭ
ᠰᠠᠭᠠᠭ ᠠᠰᠠᠭ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ ᠰᠠᠭᠠᠭ ᠠᠷᠬᠠᠰᠭᠠᠭ
ᠠᠷᠬᠠᠰᠭᠠᠭ ᠯᠠ ᠠᠰᠠᠭ ᠬᠡᠭᠭ ᠯᠠᠭᠠᠭᠴᠢᠶᠠᠯ ᠣᠴᠢᠭᠠ

ﻳﻪﺣﺴﺪﻙ ﻩﺴﺪﻟ ﻭﺴﺮﻫﻳ ﻳﻩﺴﻳ ﻩﺴﺴﻫﻣﻙ
ﻩﻟﻳﻟ ﻩﺳﻳﻫﻳ ﻳﻩﺴﻳ ﻭﺴﻟ ﻩﺮﺴﻫﻣﺴﺪﻩ ﻫﺍﻙ
ﻭﺴﺮﻫﻙ ﻭﺴﺮﻫﻳ ﻩﺳﻳﻫﻳ ﻩﺴﻟﻭ ﻩﻟﻳﻟ ﻩﺴﻟﻭ
ﻳﻟﻙ ﻩﺳﻳﻟ ﻫﻳﻣﺪﻩ ﻩﺮﺴﻫﻣﺴﺪﻩ ﻩﺴﺴ ﻫﺍﻩﺴﻙ
ﻟﺪﻫﻳﻟﻭ ﻳﻪﺣﺴﻫﺴﺪﻩ ﻫﺍﺴﻙ ﻩﺳﻳﻟ
ﻟﻙ ﻩﺴﻭ ﻳﻪﺣﺴﻫﺴﻟ ﻳﻩﺪﻟﻫﻳﻟﻭ ﻳﻩﺴﺴﻳ
ﻳﻩﺪﻟﻫﻳﻟ ﻩﺴﻟﻭ ﻳﻩﺴﻟﻩﻙ ﻳﻩﺴﻭﻫﻣﺪﻩ ﻟﻍ
ﻩﺮﻟﻫﺪ ﻟﻙ ﻩﺮﻟﻫﺪ ﻟﻙ ﻭﻫﻣﻭﻫﻳ ﻳﻣﻟﻍ ﻭﺍﻩﺴﻙ
ﻩﺴﻟﻩﻙ ﻩﺮﻫﻳﺴ ﻟﻟﻣﺴﻟﻫﺪ ﻭﺍﻩﺴﻍ ﻟﻩﻟﺪ
ﻳﻟﻳ ﻩﺮﻫﻩﻙ ﻟﻟﻍ ﻟﻟﻣﺴﻟﻟ ﻩﺴﻟﻩﻙ ﻩﺮﻫﻳﺴ
ﻳﻟﻣﻙ ﻭﻣﺴﻳﻟ ﻫﻳﻣﺪ ﻳﻟﻳ ﻭﻣﺴﻳ ﻟﻟﻍ ﻭﻣﺴﻳ
ﻩﺮﻫﻩﺪﻩ ﻣﻭﻩﻙ ﻭﻩﺴﻍ ﻳﻩﺴﻭﺪﻩ ﻣﻣﻩﺴ ﻩﺴﻟﻭ
ﻩﻳﻩﻙ ﻭﻳﻭﻫﻟ ﻩﻣﻳﻟ ﻟﻟﻣﺴﻟﻟ ﻩﺮﻟﻫﺪ ﻣﻭﻩﻙ ﻟﻟﻍ
ﻳﻟﻳ ﻣﻣ ﻩﺮﻫﻩﻙ ﻣﻣ ﻳﻟﻳ ﻩﺮﻫﻩﻙ ﻟﻟﻍﺪﻩ ﻩﺮﻫﻩﺪﻩ
ﻣﺮﻫﻳﺴﻟ ﻳﻳﻫﻭﻫﻫ ﻫﻩﻙ ﻣﻟﻟﺪ ﻩﺮﻫﻳ ﻣﻟﺴﻟ
ﻳﻳﻳﻙ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳ ﻳﻳﻳﻙ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳ
ﻳﻳﻳﻳ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﺪﻩ ﻩﺮﻳﻙ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳ ﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﻳﺪﻩ

GRR 132

GRR 133

GRR 134

GRR 135

[illegible]

GRR 136

GRR 137

GRR 138

GRR 139

GRR 140

GRR 140

GRR 142

ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن
ٻوٽن جي ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان
ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه
سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي
ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن
ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه ڏينهن ڪاڪي ٻاجهه سان ڪجه
ڏينهن

GRR 144

GRR 145

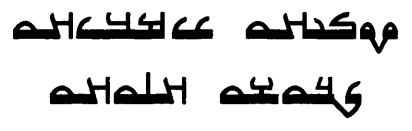
GRR 146

GRR 147

GRR 148

§4. The Story of Creation, Book III, Ginza Rba

Translation and Notes



שעותא דַקריתא
כדאבא חלאחא
גינזא רבא

(GRR p. 83)

[672]ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܝܐ [671]ܚܝܐ ܒܫܘܡܐܝܗܘܢ

בשומאיהון דַהייא רביא נוכראייא

In the name of the great alien Life

ܡܢ ܐܠܡܐ [673]ܕܢܗܘܪܐ ܝܬܝܪܐ

מן אלמיא דַנהורא יאתיריא

from the countless worlds of Light (or: from the worlds of light, sublime)

ܕܥܠܘܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕܐ

דַעלאויא כולהון עובאדיא

which is above all deeds.

ܗܢܘ ܕܢܬܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܚܝ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܬܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ [674]ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪ ܥܠܡܐ

---

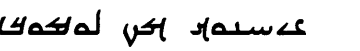
[671] ܚܝܐ *hiia* Life, the main Mandaean deity (See above §2.2.2).

[672] ܢܘܟܪܝܐ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, "In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds" speaks of the "first"' Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations)", i.e., above the world and "free from any kind of relation to the world" (Rudolf, 1983: 62). The Mandaean belief consider the Life Life ܚܝܐ ܒܪܝܐ *hiia baraiia* is an "outer entity" and its home is "outside" in the world "beyond". (CP p. 78). Jonas finds "The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols which we encounter in Gnostic speech, and it is new in the history of human speech in general" (Jonas, 1958: 49).

[673] ܐܠܡܐ worlds: According to the Gnostic view, the earth is set in the centre of the cosmos and surrounded by the air and the eight heavenly spheres which consist of the seven planets. "Beyond them lies the realm of the unknown god, the Pleroma (the "fullness"), with its own graduated worlds (aeons)" (Rudolph, 1983: 67). Jonas believes that the "worlds" of the Mandaeans correspond the "aeons" of Hellenistic Gnosticism (Jonas, 1958: 52).

האזין הו ראזא וסידרא קאדמאיא דַשותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine



דַהואת מן לאקאדמיא

which was from before time.



כדַ הוא פירא בגו פירא וכדַ הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was within the Fruit and the Ayar was within the Ayar,



ו כדַ הוא מאנא רבא דַעקארא

and when the great Mana of glory was (there),



דַהון מינהַ מאניא רורביא כאבירֵיא

from whom the great and mighty *manas* came into being,



דַנפיש זיואהון וכאביר נהוראיהון

---

674 Concerning the *raza* "mystery" Wasserstrom writes: "The "great mystery" of Mazdak, the "raza rabba" of the Mandaeans, and the "*raza rabba*" of Jewish mysticism appear to have been technical terms in a common late-antique Mesopotamian cosmic semiotics" (Wasserstrom, 1995: 42 n. 115).

675 *pira* (פירא) fruit, used often as gnostic term (καρπος) as an expression of emanation. (MD p. 371), (see above §2.1.1_).

676 *aiar* (αηρ) the upper atmosphere, air, ether, wind. The genie of the Upper Air. (MD p. 14) (see above § 2.2.2)

677 *mana* (מאנא) vessel, garment, utensil, instrument, implement (ibid p. 246). The word *mana* when meaning "mind', "thought", "intelligence" is of non-Semitic derivation: the Aramaic *mana* is "garment", "robe", "vehicle", "vessel", "instrument". Lady Drower stated: "There is often word-play on the two meanings, and this passed into other Gnostic literature so that "robe" or "vessel" or "vehicle" is used as a cryptogram for *mana* meaning "mind" or "soul". In general, *Mana* in a cosmic sense is equivalent to the Stoic, Valantinian, and Sethian *Nous*, 'the emanation of the Forefather" (SA, p. 2 n. 1), (see above § 2.1.2).

678 The word *kabbīr* "strong, mighty" appears in the Bible: Isa 10: 13, 16: 14, Job 8:2, 15: 10 etc. (for more details concerning *kabbīr* see Rendsburg G. A., "kabbīr in Biblical Hebrew", JAOS, vol. 112, (1992), pp. 649-651).

679 *ziua, ziu* (זיוא) (a) brightness, brilliance, light, radiance (b) often used as an attribute or name of uthras, being of light, glorious being (MD p. 166), (see above § 2.3. 2).

680 *nhura, anhura* (נהורא) light. The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the conjuction of *nhura*, is an active creative male principle and light a receptive, passive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ. (SA p. 6), (see above § 2.3. 2).

whose radiance is so vast and their light is so great,

ܕܥܢܝܫ ܩܘܕܐܡܐܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐܒܗ ܒܦܝܪܐ ܪܒܐ

דַענִיש קודאמאיהון לא הואבהַ בפירא רבא

that no one before them was in the great fruit,

ܕܢܦܝܫ ܘܣܐܟܐ ܠܝܬܠܗ

דַנפִיש וסאכא ליתלהַ

which was so immense and without limit.

ܕܙܝܘܗ ܢܦܝܫ ܡܢ ܡܝܡܪܝܐ ܕܦܘܡܐ

דַזיוהַ נפיש מן מימריא דַפומא

His radiance was greater than the words of the mouth (or: what can be told by the mouth)

ܘܢܗܘܪܗ ܟܐܒܝܪ ܡܢ ܥܫܬܐܘܝܝܐ ܒܣܦܝܗܐܬܐ

ונהורהַ כאביר מן עשתאוייא בספיהאתא

and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray.

ܕܟܝ ܗܘ ܒܗܘܐܢܬܗ ܕܗܘܐܒܗ ܦܝܪܐ

דַהואבהַ בהאנאתהַ פירא

As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit,

(GRR p. 84)

ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܦ ܐܠܝܦ ܦܝܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܣܟܐ

הון מינהַ אליף אליף פיריא דַלאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits

ܘܪܒܢ ܘܪܒܢ ܫܟܝܢܬܐ[682] ܕܠܝܬܠܘܢ[681] ܡܢܝܐܢܐ

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא דַליתלון מיניאנא

and countless myriads of *šikinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from Him.

ܕܟܝ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܦܝܪܐ

דַ הוא בהַ בהאד האד פירא

As in each fruit there were

ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܦ ܐܠܝܦ

---

[681] ܫܟܝܢܬܐ pl. *škina* (Heb. שכינה) celestial dwelling, abode. (see above §2.1.5).

[682] BL 23601: 33r ܘܪܒܠܝܢ.

אליף אליף פיריא דַלאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits,

[683]

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא דַליתלאיין מיניאיא

and countless myriads of *šikina*,

דַקאימין ומשאבין להאך מאנא רבא

who all stand there and praise the great Mana

דַעקארא דַשריא באיאר רבא דַהייא

of glory who exists in the great Ether of Life,

[684]

דַעית בגאוא דַיארדנא דַמיא היוארא

which lies inside the Jordan (river) of the white waters,

דַמן מאנא רבא הון

which came into being from the great Mana,

[685]

דַריהאיון באסים דַבה מארהין כולהון שארשיא דַנהורא

whose fragrance is so pleasant that all the roots of Light

וזיוא רבא קאדמאיא

and the first Sublime Radiance inhale it.

---

[683] BL 23601: 33r

[684] *iardina* (Aram. st. emph. for הירדן) Jordan, running water, river, flowing stream. The name of the Biblical Jordan was employed in the earliest Gnostic systems, and notably in that of the *Peratae* (who were in the Euphrates region) (*Schaf-Herzog* VII-§11, 12 [p. 150-1]. See also Albright, AJSLL, 1920: 292-3) Drower believes that *yardina* has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan (MII p. xxiv note 4.), (See above § 2.1.4).

[685] *šarša* or *širša*: root, tribe, family. Sometimes with religious meaning *širša taqna* "the Mandaean faith" (MD pp. 463-4) BL 23601 .

והוא יארדנא רבא דַסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלה

Then the great Jordan (river) came into being, which was without limit or count,

[686]

דַעלאוה קאימיא שיתליא והאדין וראוזין

on whose banks rejoicing and thriving shoots grow,

דַכולהון בתושכיהתא מלין וקאימין מן ריש בריש

which all of them are full of glory and confirmed for eternity.

ומן יארדנא רבא הון יארדניא דַסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלון

And from the great Jordan countless Jordans, without limit or count, came into being.

כַד הוא פירא בגו פירא וכַד הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was still inside the Fruit, and when the Ayar was still in the Ayar

[687]

וכַד הוא יורא רבא דַזיוה ונהורה נפיש וכאביר

and when Yura the great whose radiance and light were so vast and extensive,

דַעניש קודאמה לאהוא

which no one ever existed before him, came into existence,

[688]

דַמינה הוא יארדנא רבא דַמיא הייא

the great Jordan of the Living Water generated from him,

דַהייא מינה דילה הון

from which the Life Himself came into being.

---

686 not in BL 23601

687 *iura, iur* (< יוהרא) being of light, light, brilliance. (See above § 2. 2. 1).

688 Genisis too includes "water" in the first act of creation.

ועשתפון לארקא דַאיאר דַבהַ שכאן הייא נאפשאיהון

And (the Jordan) poured forth on the earth of Ayar, in which the Life himself dwells.



וקאיים הייא נאפשאיהון בדמו מאנא רבא דַמינהַ הון

The Life presented himself in the likeness of the Great Mana, from whom he came into being,



ובון בותא על נאפשאיהון

and he addressed a request to himself.

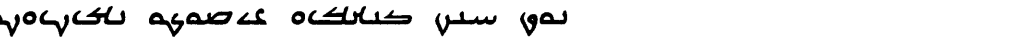
בבותא קאדמאיתא הוא עותרא[689] מקאימא

By the first request an eternal Uthra came to being,



דַהייא קיריויא הייא תיניאניא[690]

whom the Life called the Second Life,



ואף הון ותריא דַסאכא ומאניאנא ליתלון

also, *uthras* without limit or count came to being.



דַמן הייא יארדנא הוא

Then from the Life, a Jordan came into being



כדַ יארדנא קאדמאיא עשתפיא לארקא דַנהורא

like the first Jordan, poured forth on the Earth of Light,



---

689 עותרא 'utra (Nöld. עותרא "wealth" *cf. δύναμις, αἰών* etc. of Gnostic systems Ar. جيوش heavenly spirit, a generic name given to spirits of life (MD p. 347). An *uthra* is an ethereal being, a spirit of light and life. *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being (See above § 2.3.3).

690 *Hiia Tiniania*, "the Second Life" or: "the second emanation", also called Yōšamin. He proceeded from the fusion of the First Life with Dmut-Hiia "the image of Life" (GRR book 14, p. 356: 9).

ועתקאיאמבה הייא תיניאניא

and the Second Life established (or: baptized) himself in it.

(GRR p. 85)



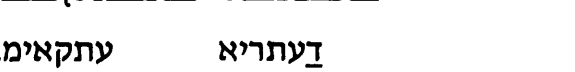
הינון הייא תיניאניא עותריא קרון

The Second Life created *uthras*,



ושכינאתא קאיים ויארדנא קרון

erected *škinas* and created a river

[691] 

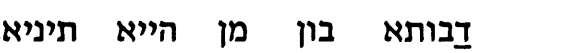
דעתריא עתקאימבא

in which the uthras were set up.



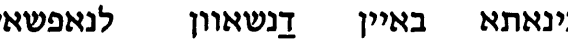
והון עותריא תלאתא

Then, three uthras came into being,

 [692]

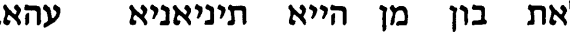
דבותא בון מן הייא תיניאניא

who addressed a request to the Second Life;



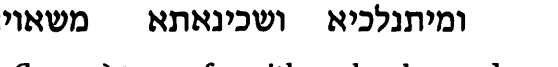
ושכינאתא באיין דנשאוון לנאפשאיהון

they asked permission to raise *škinas* for themselves,



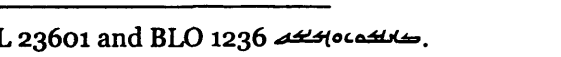
ומא דעותריא תלאת בון מן הייא תיניאניא עהאבלון

and what the three *uthras* asked from the Second Life, was granted to them.



ומיתנלכיא ושכינאתא משאויאבון

They (began) to confer with each other and create *škinas*.



---

[691] BL 23601 and BLO 1236  .

[692] not in BL 23601: 33v.

ואמרילה לאבוהון ומשאיללה ואמרילה לאבוהון

They requested their father and spoke to him; they asked their father and spoke to him:

האזין יארדנא דמיא הייא

"Are you the one who created this Jordan of the living water,

דהאזין שאנאי וריהאיון דהאזין באסים

which is so fabulous and whose scent is so sweet?

וכאביריא עותריא דעתקאיאמבה אנאת הו דקרית[693]

Are you the one who created those great *uthras* which are established (or: baptized) in it?

עו עותריא דילאך הינון דעתקאיאמבה[694]

Are those your *uthras* who are established (or: baptized) in it?"

מאליל הייא תיניאניא לעותריא תלאתא דנימארלון

The Second Life spoke to the three *uthras* and said:

אנא אבוכון אנא הייא קרון[695]

"As for me, your father, the Life created me

וירדנא דהייא הו

and the Jordan is (the Jordan) of the Life,

---

693 כאביריא in BL 23601.

694 כד here is for (ו): 'and'; not 'or'. However, כד כנוכאי עלמא דיליה עותריא: "Are those your uthras who are established (or: baptized) in it ?" not in BL 23600 34r: 5 & BLO 1236: 34r: 5.

695 BL 23601 and BLO 1236 אנא דאבוכון

ואנאתון בהאילאיהון דַהייא הואיתון

and you were brought to being by the power of the Life."

ולאכלה

ואמרילַה

And they said to him:

ڤאכלה אכו כלו ڤאכלשו כלו ڤאוו כו [696]ڤלאכלסה

אהבאלאן מן זיואך ומן נהוראך ומן מא דַבאך

"Give us some of your radiance and some of your light, and some of what you have,

אכו [697]אכלשפה סאלסה אלשו לוולה

דַניזאל וניהות אתותיא האפיקיא מיא

so we depart and descend below the streams of water,

ڤלאופלו אכלא ڤלאכלו אולולפה

ושכינאתא ניקרילאך ואלמא נשאוילאך

and we shall establish *škinas* (abodes) for you, and call forth a world for you,

ڤלאש כלא סאשו אכלא

ואלמא ניהויא דילאן ודילאך

and the world be ours and yours,

אכלאלו כלה אכלאסאלו כלה

ואנען ניתקאיאמבה ואנין ניתיבבה

and we shall be raised in it and we shall live in it,

אשו ڤלאש כלא אכלאופלו סאלאלש

ועותריא נישאויבה דילאן ודילאך ניהון

and we shall create uthras in it, for you and for us,

[698]אלאכלסה סאלא אלפה

ושום הייא לאעיאדכאר

and the name of the Life not to be mentioned."

---

[696] In BL 23601 ڤלאכלסה

[697] סאלשפה *apiqia, hapiqia* (מים – אפיקי) streams (*plurale tantum*), waters separating the world of light from this world.

[698] BL 23601 אלאכלסה לעיאדכאר, BLO אלאכלסה . See MG p. 216. (Cf. אלאכלסה סאלאלאכלשו אכלפה GRR 164: 2).

[699]

וביסמאת עלהַ ואמאר דַעתילון

And (this) pleased him (the Second Life) and said: "I will grant it to them!"

כדַ האחזין אמאר על רביא לא ביסמאת

When he spoke thus, it did not please the Great One

[700]

ועל הייא לא עתכישראת

and the (First) Life did not approve of it.

[701]

ועלאוהַ בותא בון ושאבויא למאנא רבא

He (the Life) addressed a request to the Great Mana,

דַשריא בפירא רבא

who dwells in the Great Fruit, and praised Him.

[702]

והאיזאך קאם מאנא רבא בזיוא ונהורא ועקארא

Then the great Mana stood in brilliance, light and glory

[703]

וקרייא לכבאר רבא

and called into being Kbar the Great

דַהו כבאר זיוא

who is in fact "Kbar-Ziwa."

---

[699] See GRR p. 111.

[700] BL 23600 34r, BLO: 34r

[701] BL 23600 34r: 16 & BLO 1236: 34r:16 "to the Great Mana of Glory".

[702] BL 23600 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 "in his brilliance, light and glory".

[703] *Kbar*: a name given to higher beings. (MD, p. 202)

(GRR p. 86)

[706]ܝܦܝܦ ܝܦ [705]ܐܒ [704]ܢܒܛ ܝܐܘܪ

שומה נבאט יאואר בר יופין יופאפין

His names are: Nbaṭ-Yawar the son of Yofin Yofafin,

ܣܡ ܡܢܐ ܣܡܝܪܐ ܓܘܦܢܐ [707]ܕܟܘܠܗ ܗܝܐ

סאם מאנא סמירא גופנא דכולה הייא

Sam Mana Smira (the well-preserved Mana) [708], the Vine which is full of life

ܥܠ ܕܝܬܪܝܐ

מיתראהאם על עותריא

and that is dear to the *uthras*.

ܒܓܝܘܐܬ ܥܩܪܐ [709]ܘܐܡܪܠܗ

בגיואת עקארא ואמארלה

(Mana), in the splendour of glory, spoke to him:

ܐܢܐܬ ܥܠ [710]ܥܬܪܘܪܐܒ

אנאת עתראוראב על עותריא

"You mount up above the *uthras*

ܘܗܙܐ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܡܗܘ ܕܐܒܕܝܐ

והזיא עותריא מאהו דאבדיא

and see what they are up to

ܥܠ ܡܗܘ [712]ܡܝܬܗܐܫܒܝܐ [711]ܘܐܡܪܝܐ

ועל מאהו מיתהאשביא ואמריא

---

[704] *Nbaṭ*: the root NBṬ "to spring forth, burst forth", "spring upward" & c. (SA, p. 63 n. 1). The root from which Yawar is derived, 'UR or AWR. It has a double meaning, "to blind or dazzle with light" or "to awaken". (Ibid, 63)

[705] ܐܒ not in BL 23601 and not in BL 23599.

[706] *Yofin Yofafin*: a genie or pair of genii. *Cf.* the angel name יפיפיה Targ. Jon. Deut. 34: 6 (MD, p. 191).

[707] *Sam* (rt. SUM hence "he placed", not P. سام) (MD, p. 312-3).

[708] *Mania smiria* "*manas* kept in reserve?" Lady Drower wrote: "The language is so high-flown that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect." (CP, p. 4 n. 2)

[709] BL 23600, 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 ܒܓܝܘܐܬ "in the gardens ..."

[710] BL 23600, 33v ܥܬܪܘܪܐܒ

[711] BL 23600, 34v ܘܐܡܪܝܐ

[712] BL 23600, 34r: 25 ܡܝܬܗܐܫܒܝܐ

and what they intend, they who say,

ܐܡܐ ܢܝܩܪܝܐ ܘܫܟܝܢܐܬܐ ܢܝܫܐܘܝܐ

אלמא ניקריא ושכינאתא נישאויא

"We will create a world and build *škinas*

ܢܗܘܪܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܪܘܒܝܐ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܟܕ

נהורא בניא רוביא עותריא כד

like the supreme *uthras*, the sons of Light.

ܥܠܐܝ ܐܢܐܬ ܡܐܢܕܐ ܕܗܝܝܐ ܡܝܒܝܣܡܐܬ[713]

עלאך אנאת מאנדא דַהייא מיביסמאת

Is it agreeable to you Manda d-Haii

ܢܗܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܫܐܒܐܩ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ

דַעותריא דַנהורא שאבאק נהורא

that the uthras of light leave the light

ܘܐܙܒܐܪ ܐܢܦܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܫܘܟܐ[714]

ואזבאר אנפאיהון להשוכא

and turn their faces towards the darkness,

ܘܠܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܣܘܦ[715]

ולימא רבא דַסוף

towards the great ocean of Sup,

ܘܠܗܐܒܐܪܐ ܓܗܝܐ ܘܠܡܝܐ ܐܟܠܝܐ ܘܗܐܡܒܐܠܝܐ

ולהאבארא גאהיא ולמיא אכליא והאמבאליא

towards the hideous darkness, towards the devouring and vicious waters,

ܘܠܠܗܐ ܕܗܐ ܠܗܫܘܟܐ ܕܨܡܝܬ[716] ܠܗ

---

[713] ܥܠܐܝ ܕܗܝܝܐ γνώσις ζωης "Knowledge-of-Life", "Gnosis-of-Life", the outstanding Saviour-spirit of Mandaean religion. The spelling of ܥܠܐܝ ܕܗܝܝܐ (מנדעא דַהייא) with a consonantal (ע) occurs only in Lead amulet published by Lidzbarski in 1909 (Yamuchi's 1967: 7). (See above § 2.2.7).

[714] ܠܗܫܘܟܐ BL 23601, 34r, BL 23599, 35r, Bl 23600, 34v and BLO 1236, 35r.

[715] ܕܣܘܦ ܐܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ *iama rba d-sup* "The Great Ocean of Destruction" (MD, p. 323). The Red or Reed Sea, Sea of the End (SA, p. 83 n. 2) According to the Mandaeans it is the Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host (CP, p. 251 n. 4). Cf. ים סוף "the Read Sea" throughout the Old Testament (*e.g.*, Num 14:25, Deut 1:40, Josh 4:23, Ps 106:7. etc.). *iama d-sup* is "a Gnostic metaphor for crossing from the world of matter into that of spirit" (SA, p. 48 n. 1).

לאתרא דַכולהַ סאהריא בקאלא ראבא מאליליא

and towards the place full of demons who talk with loud voices,

ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܘܠܗ ܣܐܗܪܝܐ ܒܩܐܠܐ ܪܐܒܐ ܡܐܠܝܠܝܐ

ועשאתא עכילתא מאמלילבי

and (towards) the blazing flame which flares up inside it?"

[717]ܘܥܫܐܬܐ ܥܟܝܠܬܐ ܡܐܡܠܝܠܒܝ

הו עותריא דַהייא שידקא נאטיר

The Uthra of Life kept silent,

ܗܘ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܫܝܕܩܐ ܢܐܛܝܪ

ולאהואבהַ האסיר ובציר

not because of a blunder or deficiency.

ܘܠܐܗܘܐܒܗ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

תום אתנא ואמרלהַ

Then He addressed him for the second time:

ܬܘܡ ܐܬܢܐ ܘܐܡܪܠܗ

הזיא מאנדא דַהייא דַעותריא דַנהוריא על מאהו מיתימליך

"Behold, Manda d-Haii, for what purpose do the uthras of Light confer between themselves?

[718]ܙܐ ܡܢܕܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܐܗܘ ܡܝܬܝܡܠܝܟ

ליבאיון מאהו עשתאגשלון

Why are their minds confused,

ܠܝܒܐܝܘܢ ܡܐܗܘ ܥܫܬܐܓܫܠܘܢ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתרא דַכשאשא ומשאשא ליתבהַ

so they turned their faces towards the place which is fathomless and measureless;

ܘܐܙܒܐܪ ܐܢܦܐܝܗܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܫܐܫܐ ܘܡܫܐܫܐ ܠܝܬܒܗ

לאתרא דַליתבהַ מיא הייא ולאשאריאבהַ צאותא

to the place of no living water and of no spreading of luster?"

---

[716] BL 23599: 35r and BL 23601: 34r ܐܣܬܡ

[717] read ܚܝܐ (absolute state of NṬR). ܚܝܐ is found in the other copies. (see MD, p. 282)

[718] ܙܐ ܡܢܕܐ ܕܚܝܐ BL 23599: 35r, 23601: 34r. ܙܐ ܡܢܕܐ ܕܚܝ.

ܘܥܘܬܪܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܫܝܕܩܐ ܢܛܪ

ועותרא ד̲החייא שידקא נטאר

and (once more) the Uthra of Life kept his silence.

ܠܬܠܬܐ ܙܒܢܝܐ ܡܐܠܝܠ ܡܢܐ ܒܪܐܒܘܬܘܢ ܘܠܡܢܕܐ ܕ̲ܚܝܐ ܐܡܪܝܐ

לתלאתא זיבניא מאליל מאנא בראבותון ולמנדא ד̲החייא אמריא

For the third time Mana, in his majesty, spoke to Manda d̲-Hiia and said:

ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕ̲ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕ̲ܟܘܫܛܐ ܘܒܪܝܐ ܕ̲ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܕ̲ܟܘܫܛܐ

אנאת הו מאלכא ד̲עותריא מאריא ד̲כושטא משאויאנון ד̲עוצריא

"You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of *kušṭa* (and) the creator of the treasures.

ܥܠ ܐܠܡܝܐ ܕ̲ܢܗܘܪܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܫܐܠܝܛܢܐܟ

על אלמיא ד̲נהורא כולהון שאליטנאך

We give you authority upon all the worlds of Light

ܘܥܠ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܕ̲ܫܟܝܢܝܐ ܒܫܟܝܢܬܐ

ועל עותריא כולהון ד̲נהורא ד̲שכיניא בשכינאתא

and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas*,

ܥܠ ܐܠܡܝܐ ܬܝܬܐܝܐ ܕ̲ܗܫܘܟܐ

ועל אלמיא תיתאייא ד̲השוכא

and upon the underworld of darkness.

ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕ̲ܐܬܬܠܐܟ ܘܫܝܗܐܬܗ̲ ܠܐܠܡܐ ܗܐܢܬ̲ܗ̲

אנאת הו עתיתלאך ושיהאתלה̲ לאלמא האנאתה̲

You are the one who is predestined and made worthy of that (i.e. the other) world.

(GRR p. 87)

ܩܘܕܡ ܕ̲ܥܠܡܐ ܕ̲ܢܚܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܘܕܡ ܠܐܠܡܐ ܕ̲ܢܚܬܘܢ

קודאם לאלמא הותלה̲ מן קודאם ד̲ניזלון עותריא

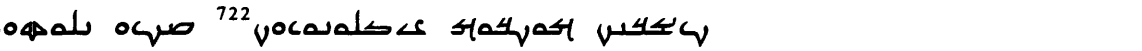
Descend to the world first, before the uthras go thither

---

[719] BL 23599 35r: 20 & BL 23601 34r: 1 ܕ̲ܚܝܐ. Sometimes plural is used instead of singular for exaltation and adoration.

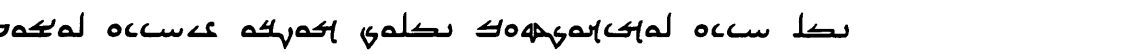
[720] ܕ̲ܥܬܪܐ BL 23601: 34r and BL 23599: 35v.

[721] read ܐܬܬܠܐܟ . In the other copies ܐܬܬܠܐܟ is found. ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ (עתיד Ar. عتيد) destined, predestined, equipped, established, brought about (MD p. 358).



ניבדון מינדאם דַעלאואיאן סניא ולאשאפיר

and do something that is odious and ugly for us,



ועל הייא לאמיתאכשאר ועלאך מאנדא דַהייא לא באסים

what is disagreeable to the Life, and what is not acceptable to you, Manda d̲-Hiia.



אמינטול דַאנאת הו דַמתאקנית עותריא

Because you are the one who can restrain the Uthras,



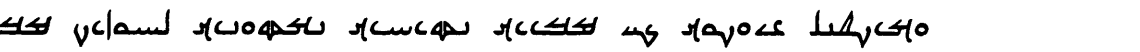
וראמית דירכא ותרצית כודכא

set the path and erect the boundary stones.



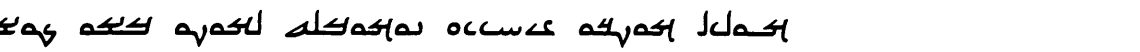
ואנין כַד קרינאך על מאהו קרינאך

And when we called you, for what reason did we call you?



אמינטול דַאנאת כַד קריית ושיהית ומשאוית להאזן קריתא

Because you, when you were called and made worthy and fit for this calling."



מאליל מאנדא דַהייא ואמארלַה למאנא רבא כאבירא

Manda d̲-Hiia spoke to the great glorious Mana saying:



כַד מאיינאך למאן עהזיא

---

[722] in BL 23601 and BLO 1236.

[723] To set the "path of the soul to the World of Light" is one of the obligations of the Redeemer in the Mandaean doctrine. (See Rudolp, 1983: 172)

[724] (Akk. *kudurru*?) boundary stone. The boundary stone (*kudurru*) was a Kassite invention, a block stone that served as a record of a grant of land by the king to favored person. Kudurru II boundary; boundary stone, (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian (2000) p. 165. See also Marcus, M. I., The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution, The Art Bulletin Vo. 73, No. 4 (Dec. 1991) pp. 536-560 esp. pp. 548-9).

[725] 'for what reason did we call you' is not found in BL 23600 34v: 19 & BLO 1236: 34v: 19.

"If I seek you, whom do shall I see?

ܐܝܟܕ ܐܒܥܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܗܘ[726]ܐܠܐ ܐܢ

וכד אכצאליא על מאן ניהויליא רוהצאנא

If I am in distress, on whom shall I rely?

ܐܝܟܕ ܐܬܝܣܝ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܬܫܒ ܐܢܐ

תיראת דהואת מינאיכון על מאהו עסימכא

Upon what shall I lean (my) conscience, which was with you?"

ܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܣܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܡܟ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ

מאליל מאנא בראבותה ולמאנדא דהייא דנימארלה

Mana, in his magnificence, spoke to Manda d-Hiia and said:

ܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܡܢܐ ܐܠ ܬܫܒܩ ܢܚܢ ܥܡܟ ܐܢܐ

אנאת מינאן לא תיפסיק ואנין ואתאך

"You shall not break away from us. We are with you.

ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܢ ܥܠ[727]ܩܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ

אנין כול דאנאת אמרית לקודאמאן תריץ

That of which you spoke before us is established.

ܐܢܐ ܠܘܬܟ ܢܚܢ ܡܢ ܠܘܬܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܒܩ ܐܢܐ

ואנאת לואתאן מיתקאימאת ומן לואתאן לא תיפסיק

You with us are established and you shall never be separated from us,

ܘܐܢܝܢ ܠܘܬܟ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܗܝܐ ܥܠܟ ܒܛܒܘܬܐ[728] ܥܬܝܡܠܘܢ

ואנין לואתאך אנין דהייא עלאך בטאבותא עתימלון

and we are with you because the Life is full of goodness towards you.

ܘܐܬܩܝܡ ܠܟ[729] ܐܕܝܘܪܐ ܢܨܒܠܟ ܥܬܪܝܐ ܢܗܐ[730] ܘܡܬܩܝܡ

ואדיאוריא נצאבלאך עתריא ניהא ומתקאימיא

And he set up helpers for you. He created for you calm and confirmed *uthras*

---

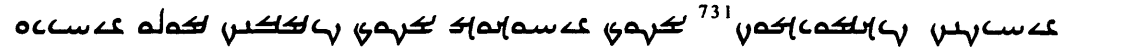
726 ܗܘ ܐܠܐ not in BL 23601: 34r.

727 ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܢ ܥܠ ܩܕܡ not in BL 23600: 35r and in BLO 1236: 35r.

728 ܐܢܝܢ BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 35v.

729 ܐܕܝܘܪܐ *adiaura* "helper", "assistant" (MD, p. 7). This expression is often found in Mandaean literature which depicts the helpers as being part of the Redeemer's preparations against the forces of evil (See Widengren, 1961:94).

730 BL 23601 ܘܐܬܩܝܡ ܠܟ ܐܕܝܘܪܐ ܢܨܒܠܟ ܥܬܪܝܐ ܢܗܐ



דניהון ניתקאימאן בנאך דהאתאם בנאך ניקרון קאלא דהייא

who will be established as your sons in that place where they recite the word of Life.[732]



וניהון תאנגארא דמיתאנגריא

They will be the merchants, who traffic,



ומאסקיא תאנגארותון לבית ריש בריש

and bring their (good) work to complete achievement."

* * * * *



הו רבא עהאבלה זיוא ונהירא

He, the Great One, presented him with radiance and light



ואטפילה על דעתלה

and added to him to what he had.



עהאבלה לבושא רבא

He gave him a great garment,[733]



דשאניא וסאכא ליתלה

which was wonderful and without limit.



בירכה בבירכתא ראבתיא

---

[731]  in the other copies.

[732] or: "call out the voice of Life".

[733] The "Primal Man", whom the Iranian Manicheans identified with Ohramazd, armed himself with a garment (armour) in order to do battle with the powers of darkness. (Zaehner, 1955: 118) Zaehner also writes: "The garment of Ohrmazd is the robe of priesthood . . . This robe has such power that it alone ensures the utter defeat of Ahriman and his ejection from Ohramazd's creation." (Ibid, 120)

He blessed him with the great blessing,

ܐܟܬܒܪܟ ܒܒܪܟܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ

דַעתיבריכבה רורביא

with which the great ones were blessed.

ܐܟܬܒܪܟ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܐ

דַעותריא שאויויא אבא

He made him the father of the *uthras*,

ܠܟܡܫܟ ܐܡܕ| ܢܟ|ܘܢ

ומזאויד זאואדיא לראהמה

and the one who provides his friends with provisions.

(GRR p. 88)

ܒܐܦܩܐܕܬܐ ܕܦܝܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܥܩܐܪܐ

בפאקאדתא דַפירא רבא דַעקארא

By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory,

ܝܢܫܥܝܟ ܫܟܨܟ [734]ܟܫܦ

כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* (pact) from them (or: I took an oath with them),

ܫܟܢ [735]ܐܟܫ ܫܟ ܫܨܟ

ואסגית בית הייא עתית

and I traveled and I came to the House of the Life.

ܐܟܫ ܠ ܐܠܠܥܦܟ ܐܟܫ

הייא משאיליא על מאנא

The Life questioned me about the Mana,

[736]ܫܟܣܥܟܢ ܐܟܫ

דַמינא עתניצבית

By whom I was planted (or: created):

---

734 ܟܫܦ *kušṭa* (קושטא, קשט) oath, vow, pact, truth, good-faith; the action of giving the right hand in troth; the ritual hand-clasp which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage & c) MD p. 209. It is not clear in this verse whether Manda d̲-Hiaa took the oath with the Mana or with the other uthras.

735 ܐܟܫ in BLO 1236: 35r and BL 23600: 35r.

736 ܟܢܣܥܟܫ in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.

ܟܕ ܒܛܐܒܘ ܪܒܝܐ ܥܬܝܬ

כַּד בטאבו רביא עתית

"Since you came through the kindness of the Great One,

ܢܝܨܘܒܬܐܝ [737]ܒܪܝܬ ܐܝܙܝܢ

האיזין נצאב ניצובתאך

how was your nature created?"[738]

ܐ

ܗܝܝܐ ܒܪܐܒܘܬܘܢ ܠܡܐܢܕܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܡܪܝܐ

הייא בראבותון למאנדא דַּחייא אמריא

The Life in His greatness spoke to Manda d̲-Hiia:

ܐܝܬ ܐܬܝ ܗܙܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܕܥ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܬܪܝܐ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܐ

הזית מאנדא דַּחייא עותריא מאהו דַּאבדיא

"Did you see, Manda d̲-Hiia, what the *uthras* are doing?

ܐܬܪܝܐ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܐ

מאהו דַּאבדיא עותריא

What the *uthras* are doing,

ܘܡܐܢܐ ܕܡܗܐܫܒܝܐ ܥܠ ܕܗ ܘܕܗ

ומאהו דַּמהאשביא על דה ודה

and how they ponder about all and sundry?

ܐܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܫܒܩܘ [739]ܒܝܬ

הזית דַּשבאק בית הייא

Did you see that they forsook the House of the Life

ܘܐܙܒܪ ܐܢܦܝܗܘܢ [740]ܠܐܬܪ ܫܘܚ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתאר השוך

and turned their faces towards the place of darkness?

ܐܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܡ [741]ܒܪܟ

---

[737] read ܕܪܥܝ (planting) as in the other four copies.
[738] or: how your plant was planted?
[739] Not in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.
[740] ܢܝܗܘܢ in the other four copies.

שיבקו לצותא דַהייא

They forsook the company of Life

ܫܒܩܘ ܠܨܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ

וצאותא דַהשוכא רהים

and loved the company of darkness.

ܘܨܐܘܬܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܪܗܝܡ

שיבקויא לאתרא דַזיוא ונהורא

They forsook the place of radiance and light,

ܫܒܩܘܝܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܙܝܘܐ ܘܢܗܘܪܐ

ואזאל ריהמויא לדאורא באטלא

and went (and) loved the futile home.

ܘܐܙܐܠ ܪܝܗܡܘܝܐ ܠܕܐܘܪܐ ܒܐܛܠܐ

שיבקויא להאליותא

They renounced sweetness

ܫܒܩܘܝܐ ܠܗܐܠܝܘܬܐ ܠ݂ܗ

ואזאל מארירותא רהים

and went (and) loved bitterness

ܘܐܙܐܠ ܡܐܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܪܗܝܡ ܠ݂ܗ

אזאל רהים מארירותא

They went and loved bitterness,[742]

ܐܙܐܠ ܪܗܝܡ ܡܐܪܝܪܘܬܐ

דַהאליותא ליתבה

in which there is no sweetness.

ܕܗܐܠܝܘܬܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ

שיבקויא ליארדנא דַמיא הייא

They forsook the Jordan of the Living Water

[743]ܫܒܩܘܝܐ ܠܝܪܕܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܚܝܐ

---

[741] ܫܒܩܘܝܐ in the other copies.

[742] Lit. "went loving".

ואסגון למיא תאהמיא

and went to the deep waters.

ܘܐܣܓܘܢ ܠܡܝܐ ܬܗܡܝܐ

אסגון תאהמיא למיא

They approached the deep waters

ܐܣܓܘܢ ܬܗܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ

ואסגון על נורא דַיאקדא

and approached the burning fire.

ܘܐܣܓܘܢ ܥܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܝܐܩܕܐ

שיבקו לעשאתא האיתא

They forsook the living fire,

ܫܝܒܩܘ ܠܥܫܐܬܐ ܗܐܝܬܐ

ואזאל עשאתא עכילתא רהים

and went and adored the consuming fire.

ואזאל עשאתא עכילתא רהים[744]

ריהמו לעשאתא עכילתא

They adored the consuming fire

ܪܝܗܡܘ ܠܥܫܐܬܐ ܥܟܝܠܬܐ

ורהימו לנורא דַיאקדא

and adored the burning fire.

ורהימו לנורא דַיאקדא

הא הזיא מאנדא דַהייא

Yes! Behold Manda d̲-Hiia,

ܗܐ ܗܙܝܐ ܡܐܢܕܐ ܕܗܝܐ

דַהאדא עותריא אבאד

that which the *uthras* have done.

ܕܗܐܕܐ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܒܐܕ

---

743 תהום depth, water of the deep (DJPA, p. 576) מיא תאהמיא trübes Wasser (MG, p. 66). *tahma*: blackish, turbid (MD, p. 477).

744 ריהמו in BLO 1236: 35v and in BL 23600: 35v.

הזיא דַאבאד עותריא

Behold that which the uthras have done,

ڕکسڕک سەصڵک ئسنەکئن

והואבון האסיר ובציר

and (how) they produced in them(selves) imperfection and deficiency.[745]

ڕکئسەڕ[746] ەکڵم ئڕەڤڵکڵک

נידיהא לאלמא ונישיבקה

(If) we shake up the world and leave it,

ەکڵک صڵڵکئن ئڕسئکئن ڵەکم

מאן ניהויבון סידרא

who will bring order to them?

ڵەکم ڵڕسئکئن صڵڵکە

מאן סידרא ניהויבון

Who will bring order to them?

ڵەکم ئڕەڤڵکڵکڕ ئن ڵکم سەصڵک ڕکسڕک

ומאן ניפארקינון מן האסיר ובציר

and deliver them from flaw and deficiency?

ڵەکم ئڕەڤڵکڵکڕ ئن ڵکم سئصڵکەڕ

מאן ניפארקינון מן הוסראנא

Who will deliver them from blunder,

ئسڕەڤڵکڕ ئن ەڵڵکئن ڵئسڕ

דַהינון עבדויא מן נאפשאיהון

which they manufactured by themselves?

ەڵڵکئ ڵئسڕ ڵکەڵە ڵئڕکڤڵکڕ ڵەکم

מאן נאשמינון קאלא דַרביא

Who will make them hear the voice of the Great [one],

ەکڵەڤڵئ ڕکم ەڵڵکڵەڵ

---

745 The "fall of the uthras" bears traces of the "Fallen Angels and the Giants who were responsible for the corruption of the world before the Flood" mentioned in the Book of Watchers. (See Bauckham, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1985: esp 314)

746 ڕکئسەڕ ئ in BL 23601: 35r.

דַיאתביא בית תושלימא

who sits in the House of Perfection?"

(GRR pp. 89)

ס

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ

מאליל ואמארלה הייא

The Life spoke to him,

ܠܥܘܬܪܐ ܙܪܝܙܐ ܘܡܙܐܪܙܐ

לעותרא זריזא ומזארזא

to the valiant and well-equipped Uthra and said:

ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܝܗܘܢ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ

לאו מן קודאם דַניהון עותריא

"Was it not from before the uthras came to being

ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܢܨܘܒܐ [747] ܕ[748]ܢܨܝܒܬܟ

אנאת הוא נצובא ניצובתאך

you are the one (whose) plant was planted (or: your creation was completed)[749]

ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܝܗܘܢ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ

מן קודאם דַניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* came to being,

ܕܩܪܘܟ ܪܒܐ ܘܦܩܕܘܟ

דַקרוך רביא ופאקדוך

the Great One created you and instructed you.

ܩܪܘܟ ܪܒܐ ܘܦܩܕܘܟ

קרוך רביא ופאקדוך

(The Great One) created you, instructed you,

ܘܙܪܙܘܟ ܘܦܩܕܘܟ ܘܫܕܪܘܟ

וזארזוך ופאקדוך ושאדרוך

---

[747] Not in BL 23601: 35r and BLO 1236.

[748] Read: ܕܢܨܝܒܬܟ "your plant is planted".

[749] Not in BL 23600 35v.

equipped you, commanded you, commissioned you

ושאלטוך על כול צבו

and made you rule over everything.

פאקדוך על שכינאתא

He commanded you concerning the *škinas*,

דאתאר כסיא ועל תיריא רורביא

and the great portals of the concealed (or: mystic) place.

שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא

He made you rule over the concealed *uthras*,

לרורביא ומשאביא דקאימיא

who are standing and praising the Great (ones).

שאלטוך על יארדנא דרורביא

He made you rule over the Jordan (river) of the Great (ones),

ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא

and over the living and vigorous waters.

כד פאקיד רורביא

When the Great (ones) ordered,

---

750 لهلا in BL 23601 35r, BLO 1236 35r, BL 23600 and BL 23599: 36r.

751 ‘utria eternal beings, spirits of light and life. The *‘utria* are the inhabitants of the Ether-World. (for more about the ‘utras see SA, Ch. VII pp. 56 ff. and § 2.4.3 above)

752 *mia hiia* : (*very often*) living (i.e. flowing) water (an expression borrowed from Judaism ?) a gnostic term.

הוא נצאבלאך עותריא

He created *uthras* for you.

[753]ﻫﻮﺗﺮﻳﺎ ﭘﺎﺩﻳﺒﺮﻳﺎ

נצאבלאך פאדיבריא

He created messengers for you,

ﻭﻣﻘﺎﻳﻤﻴﺎ ﻧﻴﻬﺎ ﻋﻮﺗﺮﻳﺎ

עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא

the mild and firm *uthras*.

ﻫ

ﻛﺪ ﻫﺎﺯﻧﻴﺎ ﺍﻣﺎﺭﻟﻴﺎ ﻫﺎﻳﻴﺎ

כד האזא אמארליא הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

[754]ﺳﻴﺠﺪﻳﺖ ﻭﺷﺒﻴﺖ ﻟﺮﻭﺭﺑﻴﺎ

סיגדית ושאבית לרורביא

I bowed (in worship) and praised the Great ones (or: the Great Life).

ﺷﺒﻴﺘﻴﻨﻮﻥ ﻟﻬﻴﺎ ﺭﺑﻴﺎ

שאביתינון להייא רביא

I praised the Great Life,

ﺩﻫﻴﺎ ﻧﺼﺎﺑﻠﻴﺎ ﻧﻴﺼﻮﺑﺘﺎ

דַהייא נצאבליא ניצובתא

the Life who planted for me a plant.

ﻧﺼﺎﺑﻠﻴﺎ ﻧﻴﺼﻮﺑﺘﺎ ﺩﻫﻴﺎ

ניצובתא דַהייא נצאבליא

He planted for me a plant of Life

[755]ﻭﻫﺎﺩﻳﻮﺭﻳﺎ ﻭﻋﻨﺼﺎﺑﻠﻴﺎ

ועהאבליא אדיאוריא

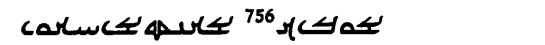
and provided me with helpers.

---

753 ﭘﺎﺩﻳﺒﺮﻳﺎ pl. *padibra* (< Iranian *paδgăm* cf. mod. P. پیغمبر، پیامبر) messenger. (MD p. 260)

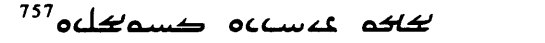
754 ﺳﻴﺠﺪﻳﺖ BL 23601.

755 ﻫﺎﺩﻳﻮﺭﻳﺎ pl. *adiaura* (M. Prth. Aδyāvar) (a) helper assistant (b) aid, assistance. (MD, p. 7)



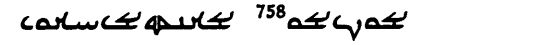
בארית בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory,



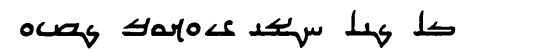
במא דַהייא עהאבליא

with what the Life bestowed on me.



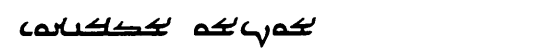
באניבא בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory



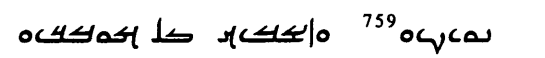
על כול צבו דַאתאר כסיא

upon everything in the concealed place.



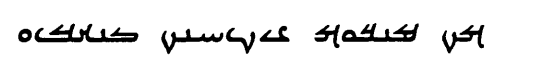
באניבא בערותיא

I shone in my lustre



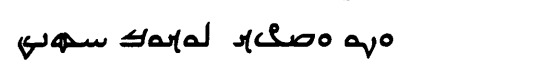
ואיניא אזברית על מארדיא

and I raised my eyes to the rebellious.



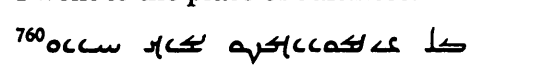
מן קודאם דַניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* appeared (there),



אנא אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went to the place of darkness.



---

[756] PE. Pf BAR, BHR (בהר ;ה) to break forth, come to light, shine out, shine forth. (MD, p. 49) not in BL 23600, not in BLO 1236.

[757] this verse is not in BL 23600.

[758] *banibh* (var. *baribh*) shone (MD p. 357). *banibh b'rutai* = *baribh b'rutai*. BL 23600 35v: 21 & BLO 1236: 35v: 21 .

[759] in BL 23601: 35r and BL 23599: 36v, in BL23600: 35v and in BLO 1236: 35v

על דַקאיימנא בית הייא

As I stood in the House of Life,

ܐܠܟܠܟܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢ

למארדיא הזאיתינון

I beheld the rebellious.

ܫܦܝ ܐܟܟܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢ

השוך לתיריא הזאיתינון

I beheld the portals of darkness.

ܫܦܝ ܥܡܩܐ ܐܟܟܟܐ ܙܐܝܬܗ

השוך דַכולהַ לעומקיא הזאיתהַ

I beheld the depths full of darkness.

ܐܠܟܟܣܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢ

להאמבאליא הזאיתינון

I beheld the destroyers

[761]ܫܦܝ ܐܟܣܥܐ ܠܟܟܐ

ולמארהַ דַאורא האשכא

and the Lord of the abode of darkness.

ܐܪܒܐܟܟܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢ

לקאראבתאניא הזאיתינון

I beheld the warriors

[762]ܐܟܟܟܐ ܫܦܝ

דַבהשוכא מיתקיבריא

who are buried in darkness.

ܐܦܟܥܐ ܐܟܟܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢ

יאקדאנא הזאיתינון לתיריא

I beheld the portals of the conflagration,

---

[760] ܒܝܬ ܚܝ Mesopotamian influence on Mandaean beliefs. The chief temple of Babylon, Esagila, is called *'bīt balāṭi*" "The House of Life": *šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na É-sag-ila, ēkal ilāni bīt balāṭi*) "Cause me to enter into Esagila, the palace of the gods, the House of Life (Langdon, 1923: 143: 25).

[761] This verse not in BL 23601.

[762] Read ܐܟܟܥܐ Ethpa. Pt. QBR: covered, buried.

כַּד יאקדיא ומהאבאביא

how they burn and blaze.

(GRR p. 90)

יאקדיא ומהאבאביא בישיא

The evil ones burn and blaze

ומיתמילכיא על האסיר ובציר

and deliberate upon flaw and imperfection.

הזאיתה להיואת נוקובתא

I beheld Hewath the female,

כַּד בהשוכא ובבישותא מיתהאשבא

how she plots in malice in darkness.

בבישותא מאמלילא

She speaks with evil.

מאמלילא בבישותא

With evil she speaks,

ובהארשיא ופודריא זַאבדא

and with witchcraft and sorcery which she practices

---

763 *hiuat* (Nöld. A fem. of *hiua*, hence Lidzb. From *hiuia*, pointing to חוה a name of a goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscriptions *Ephemers*. Name of a female demon. *Hiuat nuq(u)bta* (var. *niqubta*) (MD P. 142, see § 2.3.8).

764 BL 23601 35v: 6

765 pudra witchcraft, spell. AHW *Dict.* 884: dung.

766 not in BL 23601.

[767]ܗܪܪܐ ܒܗܘܟܡܐ ܐܡܡܠܝܠܐ

מאמלילא בהוכמאת הראר

She speaks with the wisdom of an illusionist

ܘܥܠ ܙܝܦܐ ܝܬܒܐ

ועל זיפא יאתבא

and sits enthroned in falsehood.

[768]ܗܙܝܬܗ ܠܬܝܪܝܐ ܫܘܢ

הזאיתה לתיריא השוך

I beheld the portals of darkness

ܘܠܫܝܪܝܐܢܐ [769]ܕܐܪܩܐ [770]ܣܝܢܝܘܝܣ ܟܕ ܕܗܘܢ

ולשיריאנא דארקא סיניאויס כד דהון

and the vein (or: stream) of the earth Siniauis, (just) as it was (there)

ܗܙܝܬܝܢܘܢ ܠܡܝܐ ܣܝܘܝܐ ܕܒܓܐܘܝܗܘܢ

הזאיתינון למיא סיאויא דבגאואיהון

I beheld the black water in it,

ܘܕܐܣܠܩܝܐ ܘܪܐܗܬܝܐ ܘܡܝܬܐܦܟܝܐ

דסאלקיא וראהתיא ומיתאפכיא

which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling,

ܘܟܘܠ ܕܕܐܪܝܟܒܘܢ ܡܐܝܬ

וכול דדאריכבון מאית

and whoever enters there dies,

ܘܟܘܠ ܕܗܐܙܝܠܘܢ ܡܝܬܝܩܠܝܐ

וכול דהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever behold it is scorched.

ܗܙܝܬܝܢܘܢ ܠܬܢܝܢܝܐ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא

I beheld the dragons,

---

[767] ܗܪܪܐ hrara (cf. Bibl. – Aram. הרהרין) illusion, delusion (MD. p 152).
[768] ܫܘܢ in BL 23601:35v.
[769] ܕܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ *širiana d-arqa* (lit. "blood vessels of the earth").
[770] ܣܝܢܝܘܝܣ siniauis : underworld, abode of darkness (Ibid. p. 328).

ܕܪܡܝܢ ܒܓܐܘܐܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܝܬܐܦܟܝܐ

דַרמין בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא

who were hurled there and writhe about.

ܕܟܝ ܕܟܝ ܕܟܪܒܐ ܕܟܪܒܐ ܕܥ ܕܟܥܟܪܐ ܠܬܐܝܬܝܢܘܢ ܙܐܝܬ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא דַגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour.

ܕܟܪܟܒܐ ܕܥ[771]ܚܫܘܟܐ ܠܡܐܪܟܐܒܐܬܘܢ ܙܐܝܬܝܢܘܢ

הזאיתינון למארכאבאתון דַהשוכא

I beheld the chariots of (the sons of) darkness,

[772]ܕܟܐܕܐ ܠܐܕܐܡܝܐ ܕܥܕܐܕܗܐ

דַלהדאדיא לאדאמיא

which do not resemble one another.

ܕܟܪܕܝ ܕܟܕܟܐ ܠܡܐܪܕܝܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢܘܢ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ܕܟܐܒ ܫܒ ܒܡܐܪܟܐܒܐܬܘܢ ܟܕ

במארכאבאתון כַד יאתביא

as they are seated in their chariots.

ܕܟܪܕܝ ܕܟܕܟܐ ܠܡܐܪܕܝܐ ܙܐܝܬܝܢܘܢ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ܕܟܪܙܝܢܐ ܕܟܪܕܝܐ ܕܟܐ ܫܒ

כַד בזאינא דַבישיא מיתלאבשיא

How they are arrayed with weapons of evil.

ܕܟܪܕܝܐ ܕܟܪܙܝܢܐ ܕܟܐ

בזאינא מיתלאבשיא דַבישיא

They are arrayed with weapons of evil,

ܒܫܡ ܫܡܐ ܠܐ ܕܟܪܦܫܘܬܐ ܦܪܝ ܠܐ

---

[771] BL 23600 36r: 13 ܕܟܪܟܒܐ ܕܐܚܫܘܟܐ "the chariots of darkness".
[772] ܕܟܐܕܐ BL 23601: 35v, BL 23600: 36r and BLO 1236: 36r.

ועל ביש מיתהאשביא על אתאר נהור

and plot evil against the Place of Light.



אנא כדַ הזאיתינון

I, when I saw them,



עהידרית לבית אבו

I turned back towards my father's house.



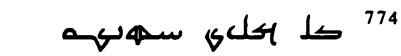
לקודאם הייא קאמית

I stood in the presence of the Life

 [773]

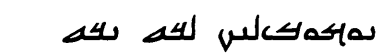
ואמארנאלון אנא כדַ דַהזאיתינון

and I told Him as how I beheld them.

 [774]

אמארילון על מליך השוכא

I spoke to Him about the king of darkness,



ואמארילון לדהַ ודהַ

and I spoke to Him about all and sundry.



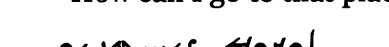
כדַ דַהזית לקודאם הייא אמרית

What I beheld, I said it in the presence of the Life.



אנא האיזין עיאסגיא להאך דוכתא

"How can I go to that place;



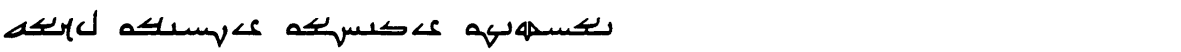
---

[773] BL 23600 36r: 17 & BLO 1236: 36r: 17

[774]  BL 23601.

לאתאר דַהשוכא

to the place of darkness



ובהשוכא דַעוצבא דַנהורא ליתבה

and into the darkness which has no glimmer of light.



על שיריאנא דַמיא דַארקא דַהשוכא

To the vein (or: stream) of water of the earth of darkness



דַראהתיא וסאלקיא ומיתאפכיא

which is boiling, seething and bubbling



וכול דַדאריכבון מאיית

Whoever enters there dies,



וכול דַהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever beholds it is scorched."



עסאק לרביא עמאר

Let me rise and ask the Great (Life):

(GRR p. 91)



דַמנא השוכא הוא

"Whence is the darkness?



מנא הוא השוכא

Whence is the darkness



ומנא הון דאיאריא דַעתבה

and whence are its inhabitants, who sit in it?

ܡܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܐܬܘܢ

מנא האויאן עבידאתון

Whence are their deeds,

ܕܗܐܝܢ ܣܐܝܢܐ ܘܡܕܗܠܐ

ד̲הא̈ין ס̈אינה̲ ומדאהלה̲

which are so repulsive and dreadful.

[775]ܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܪܝܢ

מנא הוא הוסראנון

Whence is their deficiency,

ܕܢܦܫ ܗܐ̈ܝܢ

ד̲הא̈ין נפיש

which is so far-reaching?

ܕܗܐ̈ܝܢ ܣܐܝܢܐ ܘܡܕܘܗܠܐ

הזותה̲ סאינא ומדוהלא

Its appearance is so ugly and appalling,

ܕܟܘܠܗ̲ ܗܪܝܐ

ד̲כולה̲ הראריא

as it is full with delusions.

ܟܘܠܗ̲ ܡܠܝܐ ܩܩܝܐ

כולה̲ מליא הקאקיא

It is full with cracks.

ܡܢܐ ܗܘܢ ܒܘܪܝܐ ܪܘܪܒܝܐ ܒܝܫܝܐ

מנא הון בוריא רורביא בישיא

Whence are the mighty, evil monsters

[776]ܕܥܬܒܗ̲ ܒܝܩܕܐܢܐ ܝܬܒܝܐ

ד̲עתבה̲ ביאקדאנא יאתביא

who sit (or: live) in the glowing fire?

---

[775] ܕܗܐ̈ܝܢ ܣܐܝܢܐ ܘܡܕܘܗܠܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܐ̈ܝܢ ܣܪܝܢ ܡܢܐ ܗܘ not in BL 23600 36v: 3 & BLO 1236: 36v: 3.

[776] ܕܥܬܒܗ̲ in BL 23601



מנא בון מיא סיאויא

Whence are the black waters,



דַהאיזין ראהתיא ומיתפכיא

which boil and bubble?



דַכול דַדאריכבון מאיית

Whoever enters them, dies,



וכל דַהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever beholds them is scorched.



מנא הון תאניניא

Whence are the dragons,



דַרמון בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא

which are cast therein and writhe about?



מנא הון מארכאבאתון

Whence are their chariots,



דַעתבון בישיא הון ומנא

and whence are the wicked ones who are seated in them?



מנא הואת היואת ניקובתא

Whence is Hiwat Niqubta[777]



---

[777] Hiwat the female: name of a female demon sometimes assotiated with the queen of Darkness "Rūha" (see §2.3.9).

ד̲גאוניא גאוניא וזניא וזניא

which is of every kind and variety?"

ס

ܐܡܪ ܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܥܡܝܪܝܬ ܩܕܡ[778] ܚܝܐ

אמר כד איתין עמירית קודם חייא

When I spoke thus in the presence of the Life,

ܚܝܐ ܐܒܗܬܝ ܡܝܬܝܪ ܥܬܝܪ ܘܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ

חייא אבאהתאי מיתיר עתיר ולאהסאר

the Life, my Father, became surpassingly rich without lacking

ܐܡܪ ܝܕܝܥ ܐܝܟ

אמר ידיע איך

מידא יאדין חייא

The Life is well informed.

ܝܕܝܥ ܐܝܟ ܘܫܬܩ ܢܛܪ ܝܕܝܥ ܐܡܪ

ידיע איך ושתק נטר ידיע אמר

היא יאדין ושידקא נאטרין

The Life is well informed but kept his silence.

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܝܕܝܥ ܐܝܟ

ואמר לה אמר ידיע איך

מידא יאדין חייא ואמרי־ליא

The Life is well informed, then He said to me:

ܐܬܐ ܕܢܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܕ̲ܗܝܐ

אתא דנפרישאך מנדא דהייא

"Come in order that we may explain to you Manda d̲-Hiia;

ܙܪܝܙ ܘܡܙܪܙ ܥܘܬܪܐ

זריז ומזרזא עותרא

the well armed and better equipped *Uthra*.

ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܕ̲ܢܝܗܘܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

קדם כל עלמין דניהון אלמיא כולהון

Before all the worlds came into being,

---

[778] ܩܕܡ ܟܠ not in BL 23600 36v: 10 & BLO 1236: 36v: 10.

האזין פירא רבא הוא

there was this great Fruit.

[779]

כַד הוא פירא רבא בגו פירא רבא

When the great Fruit was in the great Fruit,

הוא מאלכא רבא דַנהורא דַעקארא

the great glorious King of Light came into being.

מן מאלכא דַנהורא דַעקארא

From the great glorious King of Light

איאר זיוא רבא הוא

the great radiant Ayar - Ayar Ziwa Rba - came into being,

ומן איאר זיוא רבא

and from the great radiant Ayar

הואת עשאתא האיתא

the Living Fire came into being.

מן עשאתא האיתא נהורא הוא

From the Living Flame, there was Light,

ובהאילא דַמאלכא דַנהורא

and by the might of the King of Light,

הייא ופירא רבא הוא

---

[779] not in BL 23601.

the Life and the great Fruit came into being.

ܫܢܐ ܐܟܐ ܟܟܐ

הוא פירא רבא

The great Fruit came into being

ܐܟܟܘܥ ܟܕܢܫܐ

והואבה יארדנא

and in it the Jordan came into being.

ܫܢܐ ܐܟܟܘܥ ܟܟܐ

הוא יארדנא רבא

A great Jordan came into being,

ܘܥܫ ܘܥܐ ܢܫܢ

והון מיא הייא

and the Living Water came into being.

ܘܥܐܢܟܐ ܘܥܟܟ ܘܥܐ ܫܢ

הון מיא עריא וראוזיא

Radiant and resplendent water was brought into being.

(GRR p. 92)

ܘܥܫ ܘܥܐ ܝܟ

מן מיא הייא

From the Living Water

ܝܟܝܐܫܢ ܘܥܫ ܝܟܘ

אנין הייא הואינין

I, the Life, came into being

ܘܥܫ ܝܟܘ ܝܟܝܐܫܢ

הואינין אנין הייא

I, the Life, came into being,

ܫܢ ܘܥܟܟܟ ܐܢܫܢ ܫܘܝܐ

הון עותריא כולהון האיזאך

then all the *uthras* came into being."





אנא קודאם הייא עמרית

I spoke before the Life and said:



כד אנאתון הייא הואיתון

"Since you, Life, were there,



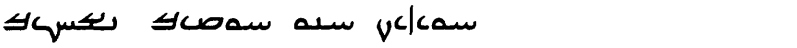
האיזאך השוכא האיזן הוא

then how did darkness come into being (there)?



האיזין הוא השוכא

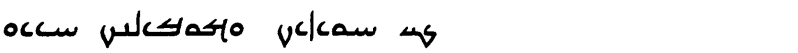
How did darkness come into being,



האיזין הוא האסיר ובציר

(and) how did imperfection and deficiency come into being?"





כד האיזין אמארילון הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,



בטאבותא הון הייא

the Life became full of bounty.



הייא הון בטאבותא

The Life became full of bounty



ולמאנדא דהייא אמריא

---

[780] not in BL 23601.

and said to Manda d-Hiia:

ܐܟܐ ܚܙܝܙܐ ܐܢܐ

אנאת עותרא זריזא

"You are the valiant *uthra*,

ܐܟܐܘܙܐ ܐܟܐ ܚܙܝܙܐ

עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,

ܐܢܐ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܙܪܙܐ ܠܐܝܕܝܬ

אנאת עותרא זרזא לאיאדית

know you not, valiant *uthra*,

ܠܐܝܕܝܬ ܫܘܟܐ ܐܝܙܝܢ ܗܘܐ

לאיאדית השוכא האיזין הוא

know you not how darkness came into being.

ܐܝܙܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܟܐ

האיזין הוא השוכא

How darkness came into being,

ܘܐܝܙܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

והאיזין הוא האסיר ובציר

and how imperfection and deficiency occurred?"

ܟ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܠܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܠܝ

כד האיזין אמארליא הייא

When the Life said thus to me,

ܐܢܐ ܥܫܬܐܠܛܝܬ ܡܝܡܪ ܟܕ ܗܘ

אנא עשתאלטית מימאר כד דהוא

I was allowed to tell how it was.

ܥܡܪܝܬ ܠܗܝܐ ܪܒܝܐ

עמרית להייא רביא

I spoke to the Great Life

ולהייא דַמן לא קאדמיא הון

and to the Life who existed since eternity,

עו אנא לאעמרית עלה

If I were not (allowed) to speak about it,

לאהוית אנא מן רורביא

I should not (have) belonge(d) to the Great ones.

כד אנא הוית מן רביא

(But) since I came into being from the Great One,

היא הינון דַאפרישוליא כד דַהואת

the Life himself explained to me how it was.

היא בראבותון אמריליא בתושביהתון

The Life in his greatness and glory spoke to me:

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

"We authorize you valiant *uthra*;

עותריא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

we authorize you, valiant *uthra*,

---

781 not in BL 23601.

782 *tušbihta* (rt. ŠBH) praise, glory (MD, p. 484).

למימאר כַד דַהואת

to speak of how it was,

[783]לאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא כַד דַהואת

to explain to the concealed *uthras* how it was,

[784]לאפרישינון לכולהון בהיריא כַד דַהואת

to explain to the chosen ones how they came into being,

כַד דַהון עותריא דַאתאר כסיא

(and) how the *uthras* of the hidden place came into being."

כַד האיזין אמארליא הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

אנא מאלאלית בתושביהתא דַרורביא

I cheered with praise of the Great Ones,

בהאדותא דַהייא רביא

with the bliss of the Great Life,

במא דַהייא אמארליא

with what the Life said to me:

אנאת עותרא קום אזיל לבית רביא

"You, Uthra, rise and depart to the Great House,

---

[783] not in BL 23601.

[784] Read "how they came into being" in BL 23601: 36v and BL 23600: 37r.

דוכתא דַיאתביא רורביא

the place where the Great Ones dwell,



דַנימארלאך על דהַ ודהַ

in order to tell you about all and sundry."



כדַ האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,



אנא אסגית לבית רורביא

I went to the house of the great ones,



דוכתא דַיאתביא רביא

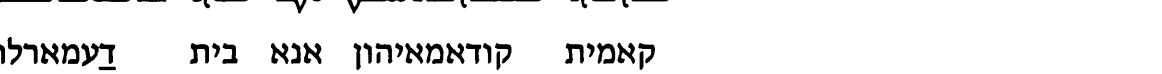
the place where the great ones dwell,



דוכתא דַטאביא האתים שרין

the place where the virtuous dwell.

(GRR p. 93)



קאמית קודאמאיהון אנא בית דַעמארלון

(As) I stood before them, I wanted to ask them:



כדַ דַהואת מן לאקאדמיא

"How did the first beginning take place?"



כדַ אנא בית עמארלון

As soon as I was saught to address them,

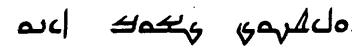
הינון האנאנון ונישקון

they embraced me, kissed me,



וקאימון באתראי ואמריא

and seated me in my place and said:



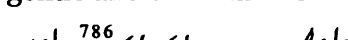
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא

"We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa;



עותרא ניהא ומקאימיא

gentle and confirmed Uthra.



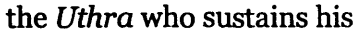
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא

We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa,



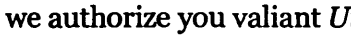
עותרא מקאיים ראהמה

the *Uthra* who sustains his friends,



שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא

we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,



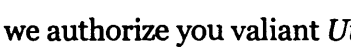
עותרא זריזא ומקאימא

the well equipped and confirmed *Uthra*,



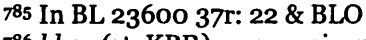
שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא

we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,



למימאר כד דהואת

---

[785] In BL 23600 37r: 22 & BLO 1236: 37r: 22 

[786] *kbar* (rt. KBR) a name given to higher beings.

to speak of how it took place,



למאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא

and to explain to the concealed *uthras*.



כד תיזאל להאך דוכתא ואתרא

When you go to that location and place,



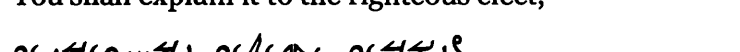
תאפרישינון לראהמאך

you shall explain it to your friends,



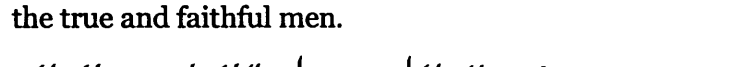
תאפרישינון לבהיריא זידקא

You shall explain it to the righteous elect,



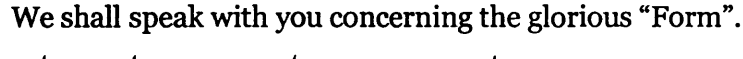
גובריא כשיטיא ומהיאמניא

the true and faithful men.



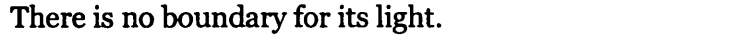
דנימארלאך על דמותא עקארא

We shall speak with you concerning the glorious "Form".



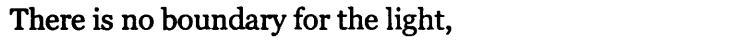
דהאיזין מיצרא לנהורה לאהואלה

There is no boundary for its light.



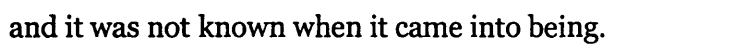
לאהואלה מיצרא לנהורא

There is no boundary for the light,



ולאעתאודא עמאת הוא

and it was not known when it came into being.



לאהוא כד דלאהוא נהורא

Nothing existed when there was no light,

[787]ܠܡܣܢ ܠܐ ܐܠܡܣܢ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܣܢ

ולאהוא כַד דַלאהוא זיוא הוא

and nothing existed when there was no radiance.

ܠܡܣܢ ܣܢ ܕܐܠܡܣܢ ܟܬܟܬܘ

לאהוא כַד דַלאהון רורביא

Noting existed when there were no Great Ones.

ܠܡܣܢ ܠܡܣܟܢ ܡܨܝܪܐ

מיצרא לנהורא לאהואלַה

There never was a boundary for light.

ܠܡܣܢ ܣܢ ܕܐܠܡܣܢ ܡܐ

לאהוא כַד לאהואן מיא

Nothing existed when there was no water;

ܡܟܫܘܟܟܬ ܕܫܘܟܐ ܕܟ ܡܐ

מיא מן השוכא מקאשאשיא

water is prior to darkness.

ܕܫܘܟܐ ܕܟ ܡܟܫܘܟܟܬ ܡܐ

מיא מקאשאשיא מן השוכא

Prior to the darkness is water:

ܠܐܠ ܕܥܡܪ ܕܟ

ליכא דַסאכא ליתלַה

there is nothing without end,

ܟܠܡܟܬܟܪ [788]ܕܡܝܪ ܠܐܠ

ולִיתלַה מיניאנא דַנימארלאך

and there is no reckoning of which we (could) say to you,

ܡܟܬܟܘ ܣܢ ܐܠܡܣܢ ܣܢ ܡܟ

כמא הוא כַד דַלאהון עותריא

---

[787] In BL 23600 37v: 2 ܠܡܣܢ ܣܢ ܐܠܡܣܢ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܠܐ ܣܢ "and nothing was when radiance did not yet exist and appear."

[788] *miniana*: number, count, enumeration, summing up, reckoning (MD p. 268).

how it was when the *uthras* were not yet there."

ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܟܐ ܡܩܐܫܝܫܝܐ

עותריא מן השוכא מקאשישיא

The *uthras* are prior to the darkness,

ܫܘܟܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܡܩܐܫܝܫܝܐ

עותריא מקאשישיא מן השוכא

prior to the darkness are the *uthras*,

ܘܡܩܐܫܝܫܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ

ומקאשישיא מן דאיאריא דַּבהּ

and more ancient than its inhabitants.

ܫܘܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܩܐܫܝܫ[789]

קאשיש טאבותא מן בישותא דַּאתאר השוך

Goodness is prior to the wickedness of the Place of Darkness.

ܫܘܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܢܝܗܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܩܐܫܝܫ

קאשיש ניהותא מן מרידותא דַּאתאר השוך

Tranquility is prior to the rebellion of the Place of Darkness.

ܐܝܬܐ ܥܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ

קאשיש עשאתא האיתא

The living fire is prior to

ܫܘܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܥܟܝܠܬܐ ܥܫܬܐ ܡܢ

מן עשאתא עכילתא דַּאתאר השוך

the consuming fire of the Place of Darkness,

(GRR p. 94)

ܘܩܐܫܝܫ ܬܘܫܒܝܗܬܐ

וקאשיש תושביהתא

and praise is prior

ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܬܪ ܣܓܝ

---

[789] In BL 23599 38v: 12 & BL 23601 37r: 12 ܫܘܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܩܐܫܝܫ is not found.

מן הארשיא ופודריא דַבניא בישא דַאבדיא

to witchcraft and sorcery, which the sons of evil practice.

קאשיש יארדנא תליתאיא

The Third Jordan is prior

מן מיא אכליא דַאתאר השוך

to the devouring waters of the place of darkness.

קאשיש סיברותא מן דהַ ודהַ

Faith is prior to this or that,

דַבישיא אבדיא דַאתאר השוך

which the wicked ones of the Place of Darkness practice.

קאלא דַעותריא קאשיש

The call of the *uthras* is prior

מן בישיא רורביא דַאתאר השוך

to that of the powerful wicked ones of the Place of Darkness.

אמארנאלאך על קאדמאיא

We told you about the First,

דַנימארלאך על תיניאנא האזין הון

in order that we shall tell you about the Second, how they came into being.

קאשיש כורסיא דַניהא

The throne of rest is prior

ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܩܕܡ

מן כורסיא מארדא

to the throne of rebellion.

ܕܡܪܕܘܬܐ [790]ܘܟܪܟܘܟ ܘܟܪܟܘܟ

קאשישיא דראשיא וסידריא

Hymns and liturgies are prior

ܠܫܡܫܐ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܬܫܒܝܚܬܐ ܕܟܪܟܘܟ ܩܕܡ

מן הארשיא דַהיואת נוקובתא דַמדאהלא

to the witchcraft of Hiwath, the woman who terrifies.

ܘܟܡ ܩܘܟܘܪ ܕܝܕ ܟܪܟܘܟ

קאשיש כאנא דַאיאר סאגיא

The *kanna* (receptacle) of *Ayar-Sagia* "Abounding-Ether" is prior

ܟܪܟܘ [791]ܕܟܢܫ ܕܟܪܟܝ ܩܕܡ

מן מימרא דַרוהא אמרא

to the talk which Rūha speaks.

ܐ

ܕܘܟܝ ܠ ܦܠܕܟܪܟܘ

אמארנאלאך על תיניאנא

We informed you about the Second,

ܕܬܫ ܫ ܘܟܟܕܝܠ ܠ ܦܠܟܪܟܝ

דַנימארלאך על תליתאייא כד דַהון

in order that we shall tell about the Third parties, when they came into being.

[792]ܗܟ ܫܩܫ ܟܪܟܘܟ

קאשיש בהאק זיוא

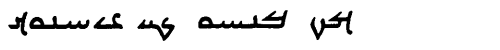
Bhaq-Ziwa is prior

---

790 ܘܟܪܟܘܟ not in BL 23599 38v: 21 & BL 23601 37r: 23.

791 ܟܢܫ *rūha*: evil spirit, the goddess (queen) of the underworld, the breath of Physical Life. *Rūha* is also the mother of the malignant zodiac spirits and of the planets (See above §2.3.9).

792 ܗܟ ܫܩܫ Bhaq-Ziwa : Abathur; the Third Life, the Father of the uthras . He is the Father of Ptahil; the Demiurge and the Fourth Life (see § 2. 2. 5).



מן רוהא כד דהואת

to Rūha when she came into being.



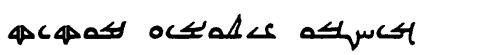
כולהון דעותריא האשאבתא

The design of all the *uthras*



קאשאשא מן קאלא דמארדא

is prior to the call of rebellion.



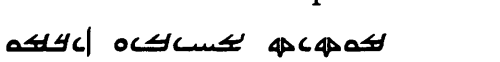
מיצרא דטאביא קאשאש

The boundary of the good is prior



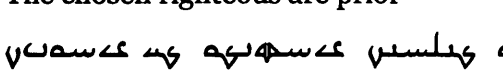
מן מארא דכולה אתאר השוך

to the lord of the whole place of darkness.



קאשיש בהיריא זידקא

The chosen righteous are prior

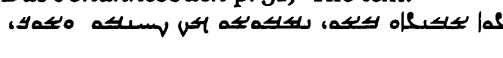


מן קיריאתא כולהון דהשוכא כד דהאוין

to all the creatures of darkness when they came into being."

---

793 The idea of rebels who are subdued by "Manda d-Hiia" is common in Mandaean writings. The following passage describes the conflict between Light and Darkness, the main Gnostic principle in the Mandaean belief. It also refers to Yöšamin's "the Second Life" revolt against his father, "the Life" :
"From the day when the Evil one began to think , the evil was molded in him. He was angry in a great anger and made war with the Light. The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels." (*Draša dYahya* "The Book of John" p. 48 = Lidzbarski's manuscript, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 51) The text:



ܕ

[794]ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ

כַד האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,

ܕܢܨܒܘܢ ܐܒܗܬܝ ܪܘܒܐ ܐܡܪܠܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ

כַד האיזין אמארליא רוביא אבאהאתאי דַניצבון

when the Great Ones, my ancestors, who fashioned me, spoke thus to me,

ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ

כַד האיזין אמארליא רביא

when the Great One spoke thus to me,

ܐܢܐ ܦܪܫܬ ܡܢ ܥܨܪܝ ܒ

אנא פירשית מן עוצראי

I understood it in my mind.

[795]ܟܕ ܦܪܫܬ ܡܢ ܥܨܪܝ

כַד מן עוצראי פירשית

When I understood it in my mind,

ܗܘ ܐܝܙܝܢ ܫܘܟܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܐ

דַאמארלון השוכא האיזין הוא

I spoke to Him: "How was the darkness formed?

ܐܝܙܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܘܟܐ ܗܘ

האיזין הוא השוכא

How was the darkness formed,

ܘܡܢ ܡܐܢܘ ܥܬܓܒܝܠ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܗ

ומן מאהו עתגביל מן דוכתה

and from what was it formed in its place?

ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ

---

[794] Not in BL 23600: 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

[795] ܟܕ ܦܪܫܬ ܡܢ ܥܨܪܝ ܒ not in BL 23599 39r: 7 & BL 23601 37v: 8 . ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ not in BL 23600 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

כד רביא אנאתון בהיריא

Since you are the Great Chosen ones,

השוכא אלמא לא באטיל

why does the darkness not disappear?

אלמא לא באטיל השוכא

Why does the darkness not disappear

ועתירהיץ פאסומכא מן ריש בריש

and the beams of light are set in perfection?"

(GRR p. 95)

מן קודאם דַאנא לרביא עמארלון

Just before I spoke to the Great (Life),

הינון רביא אמארליא

the Great (one) spoke to me,

יא עותרא סדירא

"Behold, the well-ordered Uthra,

עותרא סדירא ומסאדרא

the well-ordered and perfect Uthra,

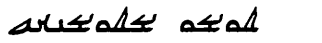
עותרא מקאיים ראהמה

---

796 in BL 23600: 38r.

797 BL 23600 38r: 8, BL 23601 37v: 14 & BLO 1236: 38r: 8 .

the Uthra who sustains his friends.



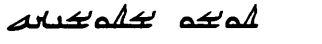
טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness



לאהואבה האסיר ובציר

suffers no flaw or defect.



טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness,



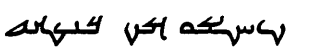
מקאיים מן ריש בריש

is confirmed for eternity.



טאבא בטאבותה שירשיא

The roots of the good in his goodness



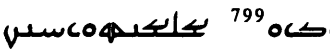
ניצבא מן דוכתה

are implanted in their place.



טאבא בזיוה יאקיד

The good is ardent in his radiance.



מיא כסיעיא בלבושאיהון

The waters are concealed by their garments.



פוגדאמא כסייא כסיעיא

---

798 Read : BL 23600 38r: 10 & BL 23601 37v: 16.
799 BL 23601, BL 23600.
800 BL 23600.

The hidden words are concealed



ונטיריא בסידראיהון

and preserved in their liturgies.



מיא בקירא לארביא

As water mixes not with pitch,



השוכא בנהורא לאמיתימניא

Darkness is not reckoned with Light.



לאמיתימניא השוכא בנהורא

Not reckoned Darkness with Light,



ולאמאנהאר דאורא האשכא

and the dark abode is not illuminated.



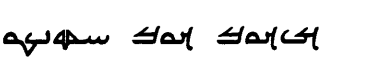
דאורא האשכא לא מאנהאר

The abode of darkness is not illuminated,



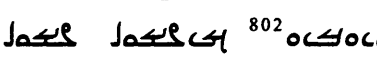
ומיא תאהמיא לא ראוזיא

and the stagnant waters does not shine.



מיתאר תאר השוכא

Darkness expanded



ודאיאריא מיגבאל גבאל

and its inhabitants were formed.

---

801  BL 23600.

802 in BL 23600.

ܡܝܓܒܐܠ ܓܒܐܠ ܫܘܟܐ

מיגבאל גבאל השוכא

The darkness was formed,

ܟܕ ܓܒܐܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܐܣܝܐ ܗܐܝܠܗ

כד גבאל איך מנאסיא האילה

(and) as soon as it was formed, it tested its strength.

ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܗܐܫܝܒ

בבישותא דמהאשיב

Because of the evil which possessed its mind,

ܗܘ ܒܟܐܢܐ ܕܢܐܦܫܗ ܡܝܣܬܐܪ

הו בכאנא דנאפשה מיסתאר

it is confined in its own *kanna* "receptacle",

ܘܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܝܕܐܬܗ ܒܐܛܠܐ[803]

וכולהון עבידאתה באטלא

and all its works are void.

ܒܐܛܠܝܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܫܘܟܐ[804]

באטליא בניא השוכא

The sons of darkness are void,

ܘܡܝܬܩܐܝܡܝܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܪܘܒܝܐ

ומיתקאימיא בניא רוביא

but the sons of the great ones are established.

ܒܐܛܠܐ ܕܒܝܫܝܐ ܒܐܝܬܐ

באטלא דבישיא באיתא

The house of the evil ones is void,

ܘܕܐܝܟܐ ܥܫܐܬܐ ܐܟܠܐ

ודאיכא עשאתא אכלא

and the devouring fire is extinguished.

---

[803] In BL 23600 38r: 16 & BLO 1236: 38r: 16 there is ܒܛܠܐ

[804] In BL 23600 38r: 20 & BLO 1236: 38r: 20 there is ܐܛܠܐ

ארשאיון מאיתיא ודאיכיא

Their spells will die and disappear,

[805] אמינטול דַלאו מן קדים

because they did not exist from the beginning.

[806] הון עבידאתון מיסיף סאיפיא

Their deeds will come to an end,

ושורבאתא דַהייא מיתקאימיא מן ריש בריש

but the family of the Life remains established for ever and ever.

האויא שותא האיתא

The living doctrine is existing

ומאנהיראלא לדאורא באטלא

and enlightening the perishable abode.

כד האזא אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) thus spoke to me,

תריץ ליבאי על סאמכה

I regained my confidence (lit: my heart set up on its support).

אנא בהאילאיהון דַרביא

---

[805] "aforetime" in BL 23600.

[806] Read Inf. SUP to end, finish, cease, vanish etc.(MD, p. 323). in BL 23601. in BL 23600.

I, by the strength of the Great One,

(GRR p. 96)

מאלאלית ועמרית ושאבית לרורביא

spoke to the Great Ones, praised them, and said to them:

כדַ בדילכון טאביא לאהואתון בישותא

"Since you, in your goodness, did not produce evil in them,

אנא האיזין עזאל להאך דוכתא

then why should I go to that place?"

כדַ האיזין בית דַעמאר

When I wanted to speak,

היא רביא אמרליא

the Great Life said to me:

באטינתא ביטנאת בתאנינא[808]

"The pregnant became pregnant with the Second,

קום הותלהַ לאלמא[809]

Rise, descend to the world.

בהאילאך דילאך ניהון עותריא

By your strength, *uthras* will come into being,[810]

---

807 not in BL 23600 38v: 3 & BLO 1236: 38v: 3.

808 The Second Life 'Yōšamin' became obsessed with the thought of a second creation.

809 in BL 23601.

ובערותאך ניתקאימון רורביא

and by your splendour the Great Ones will be established."

רביא בראבותון

The Great One, in his greatness,

אנפיש זיוא עהיבליא

bestowed on me an overflowing radiance.

אנפיש עהאבליא זיוא

He bestowed on me an overflowing radiance

ואנפיש נהורא

and ample light.

אלוין עהאבליא זאכותא

He provided me with victory,

[811] דַמנאטראליא מן כול סניא

which preserves me from every hateful thing.

עהאבליא לבושא רבא

He gave me a great attire,

---

[810] Another translation: "By your strength, uthras will calm down" since ריסי is Impf. of HUA and also of NHA (=NUH) to calm, to ease, to rest. (MD, pp. 290 and 293) The second translation is more likely because Manda d-Hiaa "Gnosis of Life" is a messenger of the World of Light and not a creator.

[811] ריסי in BL 23601, in BL 23600.

דַנפיש וסאכא ליתלה

which was so extensive and without limit,

ⱡⱁⱄ ⱡⱁⱄ ⱁⱄ ⱄⱄⱄⱁ ⱀⱁⱐⱐⱀ

ושאויון רבא מן ריש בריש

and made me great for ever and ever.

ⱁⱄⱄ ⱁⱄⱆⱆ ⱁⱡⱏⱄⱁⱄ ⱁⱁⱄⱄⱁⱁⱄ

עהאבליא מארגנא דַמיא הייא

He gave me the *margna* (staff) of the Living Water,

ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄ ⱆⱄⱁⱡⱄⱁⱡⱄ ⱁⱁⱀⱁ

גאואזא מיתכאבשאבה מארדיא

gauaza (a rod) wherewith the rebels are laid low.

ⱁⱀⱆⱁ ⱁⱀⱁⱡⱄ ⱁⱁⱄ ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱁⱄ

עהאבליא כליל עשאתא האיתא

He gave me the crown of the Living Flame,

ⱆⱄⱄ ⱁⱁⱄ ⱁⱄⱄ ⱄⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱄ [812]ⱁⱄⱁⱡⱁⱆⱆ

דַשאניא ומאנהאר מן כול דמו

which is so wonderful and lucid more than any likeness.

ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱁⱄⱁⱁⱄ ⱄⱄⱄⱁⱄⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄ

זארזון במזארזותון

He equipped me with his armor,

ⱁⱄⱄⱄⱄⱁ ⱆⱄ ⱁⱄⱄⱡⱡⱁⱄ ⱄⱄⱄⱁⱡⱁⱄ

והאנאנון ונישקון כַד רורביא

then embraced me and kissed me like the Great Ones.

ⱁⱡⱡⱡⱆⱆ ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱁⱄ ⱄⱄ ⱄⱁⱁ ⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱁⱁ

אמאריליא עזאל על מארדיא דַהשוכא

He said to me: "March against the rebels of darkness

ⱁⱄⱄⱡⱁⱄⱄⱁⱄⱁⱄ ⱡⱄⱄⱁⱁⱁ ⱆⱄⱄⱁⱁⱁ

דַעלאן לביש מיתהאשביא

---

[812] ⱆⱄⱁⱡⱁⱆⱆ in BL 23600 and BL 23601.

who think out evil designs against us.

ܗܘ ܕܚܫܒ ܒܝܫܬܢ

מיתהאשביא בבישותא

They ponder evil,

[813]ܒܝܫ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܐܢܐ

בישא ניסתאר בכאנא

and the Evil conceals Himself in his place,

ܥܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܡܝܢܝܠܬܟ ܘܡܢ

ועלה מינילתאך דילאך לאתיהויא

and none of your own words will reach him."

ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܛܒܐ ܒܙܟܘܬܗ ܢܣܩ

אמריליא טאבא כטאבותה ניסאק

He said to me: "The good, through his virtues, will rise

ܘܚܙܐ ܐܬܪ ܢܗܘܪ

ניהזיא לאתאר נהור

and see the place of Light.

ܒܝܫ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܗ ܢܬܪܝܩ ܠܬܘܪܝܐ ܫܘܚ

בישא בבישותא ניסרא לתיריא השוך

The evil, through his evilness, will be hurled down to the doors of Darkness.

ܩܠܐ ܩܪܝܐ ܡܩܪܝܢ

מיקריא קרעייא קאלא

Voices are proclaimed aloud

[814]ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܫܝܒ ܡܐܡܠܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

ומיהשיב השיביא מאמלאליא כולהון

and all words are reckoned.

ܐܬܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܠܐ

אתיא הדא קאלא

One voice comes

---

[813] ܒܝܫ ܥܒܕ ܒܝܫ in BL 23600 38v: 13 & BLO 1236: 38v: 13.
[814] ܘܟܠܗܝܢ not in BL 23601.

ומאפריש על קאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all voices.

אתיא הדא מאמלא[815]

One word comes

ומאפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all the words.

אתא הדא גאברא ומאפריש על דהַ ודהַ[816]

One Man comes and instructs concerning all and sundry (or: concerning everyone)."

(GRR p. 97)

כַד האיזן אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) spoke thus to me,

אנא בהאילאיהון אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went by his power to the place of darkness,

לאתאר דַשרין בישיא[817]

To the place where the wicked ones dwell,

ולדאורא דַכולהַ האמבאליא

and to the dwelling which is full of destroyers.

---

[815] not in BL 23600.
[816] Read
[817] in BL 23600: 38v.

לאתאר דַתאנאניא

To the place of the dragons,

ܠܐܬܐܪ ܕܬܢܢܝܐ

ולדוגיא דַעשאתא אכלא

and to the furnaces of the consuming flames.

ܘܠܕܘܓܝܐ ܕܥܫܬܐ ܐ[818]ܟܠܐ

לדוגיא דַנורא

To the furnaces of fire,

ܠܕܘܓܝܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ

[819]דַסאליק אלוכין מאטיא מיציא רקעיא[820]

whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of the firmament.

ܕܣܐܠܝܩ ܐܠܘܟܝܢ ܡܐܛܝܐ ܡܝܨܝܐ ܪܩܥܝܐ

עזלית ואשכיתינון כאל

I descended and found them,

ܥܙܠܝܬ ܘܐܫܟܝܬܝܢܘܢ ܟܐܠ

לבוריא מארדיא דַהשוכא

the rebellious monsters of darkness.

ܠܒܘܪܝܐ ܡܐܪܕܝܐ ܕܗܫܘܟܐ

ועזלית ואשכיתינון כאל

I descended and found them,

ܘܥܙܠܝܬ ܘܐܫܟܝܬܝܢܘܢ ܟܐܠ

מיתהאשבין בבישותא דַכולהון

as all of them were plotting in wickedness.

ܡܝܬܗܐܫܒܝܢ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܠܗܘܢ

קאימיא ומיתהאשביא בבישותא

Standing and plotting in wickedness,

ܩܐܝܡܝܐ ܘܡܝܬܗܐܫܒܝܐ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ

---

[818] ܠܐܫܟ in BL 23601.

[819] In BL 23599 40r: 9 & BL 23601 38v: 7 ܕܣܐܠܝܩ is found. In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ܣܐܠܝܩ is found.

[820] In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ܐܠܘܟܝܢ is found.

וקאימיא וזאינא האשליא

and standing and forging weapons.



קאימיא והאשליא זאינא

Standing and forging weapons



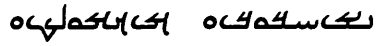
ועל טאביא לביש מיתהאשביא

and plotting evil against the good ones.



מיתהאשביא בבישותא

Plotting in wickedness,



וביהדאדיא מיתמאלכיא

and taking counsel with each other.



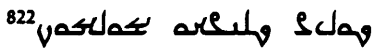
מיתמאלכיא ביהדאדיא ואמריא

They take counsel with each other and say:



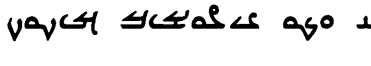
מיאכא אלמא הורינא

"Is there any other being



דַפאליג פלוגתא באלמאן

who (wants to) carry out a division among our world?



עו אכא דַגאביר מינאן

If there is anyone mightier than us,



---

821 In BL 23600 39r: 1 & BLO 1236: 39r: 1 .

822 BL 23600 39r: 3 & BLO 1236: 39r: 3.

ניקום מינהַ ניפדאר

we shall rise and fight him.

ונהזיא דַמנא הוא

and find out who he is,

מנא הוא דאורא ואלמא

and where is his abode and the world (he belongs to).

באיתא האזין דילאן הו כולהַ

This house belongs entirely to us,

וליתבא פלוגתא באלמאן

and there will be no dissension in our world.

מיאכא דַנפיש האילאיון מן בוריא

Is there anyone whose strength is greater than (that of) the monsters?

וליכא דַנפיש האילאיון

No, there is no one whose strength is greater.

מן מאלאכיא דַאתראן

than (that of) the Angels of our place."

[823]כולהון האישין ובאהשין

All of them ponder and seek,

וכולהון ביהדאדיא מיתיקליא

---

[823] כולהון האישין in BL 23600.

and they are inflamed against one another.

ڕوها قادشتا[824] عوצرا נכילא דַכאדבא

Rūha Qadašta's mind is cunning and (full) of lies.

דַכאדבא עוצרא נכילא

(full) of lies and deceitful is her mind,

דַכולַה הארשיא מליא

which is completely full of sorcery.

כולַה מליא הארשיא ומליא פודריא והוכומתא

She is completely full of witchcraft and (false) wisdom.

יאתבא היואת ניקובתא[825] רוהא והומרא

Hiwath the Female, Rūha sits there with her *humurtas* (female spirits),

---

[824] ڕوها قادشتا *Rūha Qadašta* , lit. "Holy Spirit", one of Rūha's epithets, a devalued Christian "Holy Ghost". In the Mandaean literature *Rūha* as a fallen wisdom figure resembles Sophia (Wisdom) in other Gnostic traditions. However, *Qadishtu* is an Akkadian name meaning Sacred women. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. In (GRR f. 31v: 19) she is *Rūha d-Qudša* whose name is Libat-Ištar-Amamit ڕوها د قودشا ليبات عشتار عمامت . *Rūha* is the daughter of Qin, she was married to her brother Gaf. She was taken to the upper world by Hibil-Ziwa, and brought the monster-child 'Ur to birth. She became 'Ur's paramour, and had by him two sets of children, the seven planets and the twelve Houses of the Zodiac. (see above §2.3.9).

[825] *Hiwat* or *Hivat* Lidzbarski from *hiuia*, pointing to חות as a name of the goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscription (MD p. 142). Cf. רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכרא "the lady Hebat (i.e. the Hurrian goddess Hepat), the goddess queen of Išhara. Also Hewwat the goddess (See G. Levi Della Vida, "A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?", JAOS, vol. 68, No. 3, 1948, pp. 148-149). A Hurrian rock relief (mid-thirteenth cent. B.C.) shows the great queen Puduhepa pouring libation to Hepat (Alexander, JNES, vol. 36, No. 3, (1977) pp. 199-207, esp. 199). Mountain gods and goddesses were commonly worshiped in Anatolia and Syria. At Yazili Kaya, the goddess Hipat stands on an animal, standing itself on blocks suggesting mountains, while her consort Teshub stands on the necks of two mountain-gods (Barnett, "A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque", Anatolian Studies, vol. 3, (1980), pp. 169-178, esp. p. 177). Hepat is a Hurrian goddess, the consort of the weather god Teshub. She was called Queen of Heaven and was assimilated by the Hittites to their national goddess, the sun goddess of Arinna. Teshub and Hebat had cult centres at Kummanni (classical Comana Cappadociae) and at Aleppo (Halab) and other cities in the region of the Taurus Mountains. (http://www.britannica.com/eb/topic-258989/article-9039751).



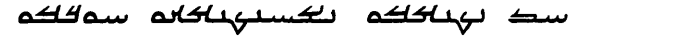
כַּד גדולא בריש֐א אמסאתר֐א

whist she tears out the locks of her head.



יאתב֐א ואבד֐א האר֐שי֐א דַּכאדב֐א

She sits there and practices false magic.



הע וכומר֐א ובהוכומת֐א האדר֐א

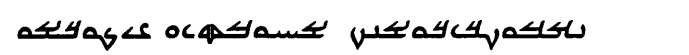
She and her *kumras* (amulet spirits) are indulged in (fake) wisdom.



כַּד האיש֐א ובאהש֐א

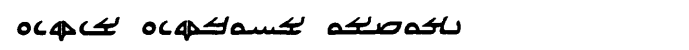
How she ponders and seeks,

(GRR p. 98)



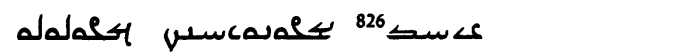
ומר֐אנדידאבון בהאר֐שי֐א דַּכאדב֐א

she disturbs them with false magic.



ומאסב֐א בהאר֐שי֐א בישי֐א

And is possessed by evil sorceries,



דַּהע בגאואיהון מגאלאל֐א

in which she is involved.



כַּד האישי֐א ומתר֐אנדידאבון בהאר֐שי֐א

How she ponders and is aroused by sorcerers,



רוה֐א עדאת על דה֐ ודה֐

Rūha perceived this and that.

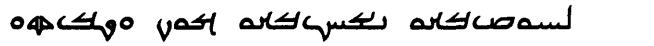
---

[826] BLO 1236: 39r: 15.



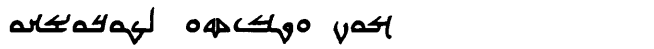
לרוהא מאן אמארלא

As for Rūha – who told her?



להאסירתא ובצירתא מאן אפרישא

The faulty and deficient one – who gave her instructions?



מאן אפרישא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar,



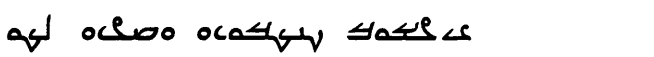
לנוקובתא עמה דבורא נאפלא

the female, the mother of the base monster?



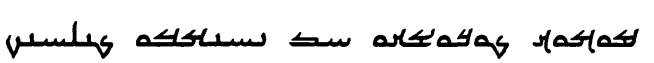
מאן אפראשא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar



דגאבאר נוכראיא אסגיא לכא

about the Strange Man who came hither?



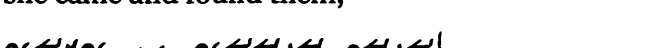
קאמאת כאדאבתא הע והומרא כולהון

The liar ascended with all her *humrtas*,



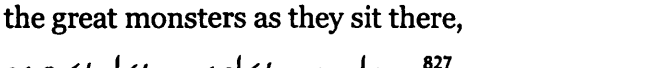
אתאת ואשכיתינון

she came and found them,



לבורא רורביא כד יאתביא

the great monsters as they sit there,



[827]

[827] ܐ not in BL 23600 39r: 23, BL 23601 39r: 8 & BLO 1236: 39r: 23.

כד כולהון בזאינא מלאבשיא

as they were all arrayed with weapons.

כולהון מלאבשיא בזאינא

They were all arrayed with weapons

וקודאמה דמליך השוכא יאתביא

and seated before him, the King of Darkness.

מליך השוכא בגאבארותא

The King of Darkness in his mightiness,

מאתנאהאזבה בשכינתה ואמאר

blustered about in his *škina* and he cried:

מיאכא דגאביר מינאי

"Is there anyone who is mightier than I,

דפאהלילה כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds serve?

עו מיאכא דגאביר מינאי

If there is someone who is mightier than me,

[828]ניקום מינאי ניפדאר

(then) let him come forward and fight with me, [829]

---

[828] ניקום not in BL 23599 40v: 16. ניקומ BL 23600 39r: 26 & BLO 1236: 39r: 26.

[829] Cf. the demiurge issuing the cry "I am God and there is no other God than I." (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

דַמיכלה טאריא

(with the one) whose food are mountains,

[830]

בהימצה דַהימתאיון לא מיתאשעא

(and) in whose belly poison no blood is found."

כאלהון רביא וגאבאריא

All the mighty and the powerful,

הינון וסאהראיהון ודאיואיהון

along with the demons and the evil spirits,

כולהון לדיליא פאהליא

they all serve me.

קאימיא ופאהליליא

They stand by to serve me,

וכל יום לדיליא סאגדיא

and worship me everyday.

כַד האזא אמאר מליך השוכא

When the King of Darkness spoke thus,

רוהא נאדאת מן כורסיא

Rūha trembled down from her thrown.

---

[830] Read: *bhimṣh d-himtaiun udma lamitaška* as suggested by Drower (MD P.146 under himta 1).

גאהיא ובאכיא רוהא

Rūha sobbed and wept,

ܐܟܟܐ ܢܒܠܣܢ ܣܒ

הע וכולהון הומריא

she and all her *humurtas* "spirits".

ܟܐܗܐ ܠܟܟܐ[831] ܟܢܣܐ

רוהא לעברא תימאר

Rūha spoke to her son

ܐܒܘܐ ܣܒܢܒ ܟܠܟ ܐܐܘܐ

ותאודה למליך השוכא

and made it clear to the King of Darkness:

ܟܐܒ ܐܟܟܐ ܕܐܒ ܟܐܟ

עכא דראב מינאך

"There is someone who is mightier than you,[832]

[833]ܟܐܟܠܐ ܢܒܠܣܢ ܟܐ ܟܐܒܐܟ ܐܐܠ

והאילה מיתאר מן כולהון אלמאך

and whose strength surpasses all your worlds.

ܟܠܐ ܟܐ ܒܟܒܢ ܐܟܠܐ ܟܐ

עכא אלמא דנפיש מן דילאך

There is a world more far-reaching than yours,

ܐܟܟܒܐ ܟܒܐܐܣܢ ܐܟܟܟܐ

דרורביא בגאואיהון יאתביא

in which the great ones dwell.

(GRR p. 99)

ܟܟܐܐܣܢ ܟܒܐܒܐ ܐܟܟܒܐ

רורביא יאתביא בגאואיהון

---

[831] ܠܟܟ BL 23599 40v: 23 & BLO 1236: 39v: 4.

[832] Cf. the retort from on high to the demiurge who thinks that he alone exists and there no other god "Thou art mistaken (or "don't lie") . . . The is above thee . . . (according to the Gospel of Thomas) (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

[833] ܐܟܠܐ BL 23599 41r: 2, BL 23600 39v: 7, BL 23601 39r: 20 & BLO 1236: 39v: 7.

The great ones dwell in it,

ובאירא דמותאיהון מן אלמיא

and their forms are more bright than the worlds."

כד

[834]נימרוס עמראת כד האזא

When Nimrus thus spoke,

קודאמה דטורא נאפלא

before the falling mountain,

[835]על עתרה עתימליא באלבושיא

at once his garment was filled,

[836]והוא מלאייא דאלמא

and became the fullness of the world.

[837]עמראר במרירתה

He was bitterly grieved,

בישתא ראבתיא בבישותא

and the evil became boastful in wickedness.

[838]

---

834 נימרוס nimrus, namrus: a name of Rūha. *Cf.* Manichaean *Namrae* (see Zaehner, 1955: 78 n. B).

835 עתימליא in BL 23601: 39r, 23600: 39v.

836 מלאייא or מלאיא *mlaiia* or *mlaiih* "fullness." In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the region of god himslef and the dwelling place of Archons and Aeons, spirits, and the non material world. (for the full definition of the Pleroma see Scholem, 1987: 68).

837 עמראר BL 23601: 39r.

838 ראבתיא ד BL 23600: 39v.

וגאסיא ושאדיא הימתא האמימא

He spattered and vomited his fiery venom,

ܐܡܡܝܐ ܗܝܡܬܐ ܘܫܐܕܝܐ ܘܓܐܣܝܐ

לנורא דאמיא

which was (hot) like fire.

ܕܢܘܪܐ ܕܡܝܐ

עתימליך בבישותא

He deliberated in evil,

ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܥܬܝܡܠܝܟ

וכנאפ גונדא נאפלא

and gathered an unworthy a army.

ܘܟܢܐܦ ܓܘܢܕܐ ܢܐܦܠܐ

גונדא נאפלא כנאף ואמאר

He gathered an unworthy army and said:

ܓܘܢܕܐ ܢܐܦܠܐ ܟܢܐܦ ܘܐܡܐܪ

דַעקום עסאק מן אתאר השוך

"I will rise up and ascend from the Place of Darkness.

ܕܥܩܘܡ ܥܣܐܩ ܡܢ ܐܬܐܪ ܗܫܘܟ[839]

עיאסריכא לזינקאי בארקא ועקרא

I will fasten my chains to the earth and uproot it,

ܥܝܐܣܪܝܟܐ ܠܙܝܢܩܐܝ ܒܐܪܩܐ ܘܥܩܪܐ[840]

ובהאבלאי עכלה לכולה אלמא

and clasp my rope around the whole world.

ܘܒܗܐܒܠܐܝ ܥܟܠܗ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܠܡܐ[841]

בסירופתאי עסרוף

I will swallow (it),

ܒܣܝܪܘܦܬܐܝ ܥܣܪܘܦ

---

839 ܗ not in BL 23601: 39v.

840 ܥܝܐܣܪܝܟܐ BL 23600: 39v.

841 ܐܠܡܐ BL 23599 41r: 11& BL 23601 39v: 4.

ורמינון לרוביא מן כורסיאין

and I will cast the great ones down from their thrones."

ܘܪܡܝܢܘܢ ܠܪܘܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܘܪܣܝܐܝܢ

עמראר בישא בבישותא

The evil one was embittered with evil

ܥܡܪܐܪ ܒܝܫܐ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ

ופיהתה לפומה מהאמבלא

and opened his corrupt mouth,

ܘܦܝܗܬܗ ܠܦܘܡܗ ܡܗܐܡܒܠܐ

פיהתה לפומה סאריא

he opened his putrid mouth,

ܦܝܗܬܗ ܠܦܘܡܗ ܣܐܪܝܐ

דאתיא ריהא דסרותא

so that bad smell emanated from within.

ܕܐܬܝܐ ܪܝܗܐ ܕܣܪܘܬܐ

פיהתה לפומה סאריא

He opened his putrid mouth,

ܦܝܗܬܗ ܠܦܘܡܗ ܣܐܪܝܐ

דהאויא מלאייא דאלמא

which became the fullness of the world.

ܕܗܐܘܝܐ ܡܠܐܝܝܐ ܕܐܠܡܐ

ד

ܐܢܐ ܕܗܙܐܝܬܗ ܗ

אנא דהזאיתה

When I (Manda d-Hiia) saw him,

ܐܢܐ ܕܗܙܐܝܬܗ

עתאהזילה בלבושא דרוביא

I appeared to him in the garment of the Great (ones).

[842] ܥܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ ܒܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܐ

[842] ܥܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ in BL 23601: 39v.

בלבושא דרורביא עתאהזילה

In the garment of the Great (ones) I appeared to him,

ܒܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܪܘܪܒܝܐ ܥܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ

דנפיש וסאכא ליתלה

which is so extensive and infinite.

ܕܢܦܝܫ ܘܣܐܟܐ ܠܝܬܠܗ

כד עתיהזילה בזיוא נאפשיא

When I appeared to him in a far-reaching radiance,

[843]ܟܕ ܥܬܝܗܙܝܠܗ ܒܙܝܘܐ ܢܐܦܫܝܐ

דנפיש ומיאתאר מן אלמיא

which is more immense and surpassing from the world,

[844]ܕܢܦܝܫ ܘܡܝܐܬܐܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ

אהויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא

I showed him the *margna* (staff) of Living Water,

ܐܗܘܝܬܗ ܡܐܪܓܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ

דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my fathers gave me.

ܕܐܒܐܗܐܬܐܝ ܥܗܐܒܠܝܐ

האויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא

I showed him the *margna* (staff) of living water,

ܗܐܘܝܬܗ ܡܐܪܓܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ

דמיתכאבשיבה מארדיא

by which the rebels are crushed down.

ܕܡܝܬܟܐܒܫܝܒܗ ܡܐܪܕܝܐ

ואהויתה כליל עשאתא האיתא

I showed him the wreath of the living fire,

ܘܐܗܘܝܬܗ ܟܠܝܠ ܥܫܐܬܐ ܗܐܝܬܐ

---

[843] ܟܕ ܥܬܝܗܙܝܠܗ in BL 23600: 39v.

[844] Cedar staff is a symbol of rulership in Mesopotamia (Widengren, 1950: 8, 9).

דַהאזילַה סאהריא ומדאהליא

which instills terror into demons, when they see it.

ܕ ܐܙܝܠܗ ܣܗܪܝܐ ܘܡܕܗܠܝ

כדַ עתאהזילַה לנימרוס

When I appeared to Nimrus,

ܠܢܡܪܘܣ ܐܬܗܙܝܠ ܟܕ

הבאל הבאל קאריא

she cried "Alas, Alas!."

ܩܐܪܝܐ ܒܐܠ ܗܒܐܠ

כדַ עתאהזילַה לגאבארא

When I appeared to the giant,

ܠܓܒܪܐ ܐܬܗܙܝܠ ܟܕ

כולהון גונדַה עתבאדרויא

all his army scattered.

ܐܬܒܕܪܘܝ ܓܘܢܕܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ[845]

כדַ עתבאדרויא גונדַה

When his army scattered,

ܓܘܢܕܗ ܐܬܒܕܪܘܝ ܟܕ

[846]הו שאריבון בשורבאתַה

he tore his troops (lit: tribes) asunder,

ܒܫܘܪܒܐܬܗ ܫܐܪܝܒܘܢ ܗܘ

שאריבון בקאראפתאניא

he tore his warriors asunder,

(GRR p. 100)

ܕܙܐܝܢܐ ܩܐܒܐܠܗ

דַזאינא קאבאלַה

who had taken arms against him.

---

[845] ܐܬܒܕܪܘܝ ܓܘܢܕܗ ܟܕ not in BL 23600 39v: 27. ܟܕ ܐܬܒܕܪܘܝ not in BLO 1236: 39v: 27.

[846] Cf. ܒܫܘܪܒܐܬܗ ܫܐܪܝܒܘܢ ܒܩܪܒܬܢܝܐ ܫܐܪܝܒܘܢ *šaribun bšurbata šaribun bqarabtania*: "he encamped amongst the tribes, he encamped amongst the warriors" (MD p. 474).



שאריבון בסאבריא נאסביא

He tore asunder all the demons,



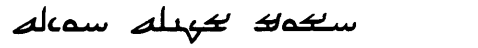
ודאיויא והומריא ולילאתא כולהין

dewis, *humrtas* and *liliths*,



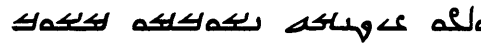
קאם ואסיפה לכולה אלמא

he rose up and annihilated the whole world.



הבאק בכולה האילה

He contained it with all his strength



ופאלגא דמומה ובארקא קבאר

and buried half of his mouth in the earth.



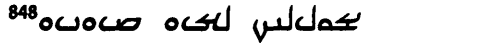
תריסאר נאסכיא אפרא נסיב

He took twelve measures of dust



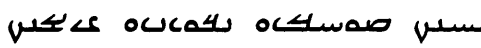
ובלא מן אתאר השוך

and engulfed part of the Place of Darkness.



באלילון למיא סיאויא

He swallowed the black water,



ובילילון לכולהון סאהריא ודאיויא דבון

---

847 pl. *lilith* a female demon or genie (MD, p. 236). Montgomery writes "In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice" (Montgomery, 1913: 76).

848 BL 23600 40r: 2 & BLO 1236: 40r: 2.

and swallowed all the demons and *dewis* who were in it,

ולהומריא ולילית כולהין

and he swallowed all the *hmurtas* and *liliths*.

קאם ואסיפה לכולה אלמא

He rose up and annihilated the whole world.

אינה בדמא ראיגא[849]

His eyes blushed blood-red.

וליבה בתיניהתא קאם

and his heart heaved with groans.

ליבה בתיניהתא קאם

His heart heaved with groans,

דקאם ריקאן באלמא

as he stood empty in the world.

תנית עתאהזילה בקאלא דרביא

A second time I appeared to him with the call of the Great One,

תאגה מן רישיא נפאל[850]

his crown fell from his head.

כד נפאל תאגה מן רישיא

When his crown fell from his head,

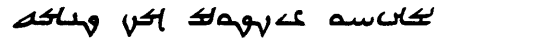
---

[849] In BL 23600 40r: 4 & BLO 1236: 40r: 4.
[850] in BL 23601: 40r and in BL 23600: 40r.



מירתה בארקא מיתגאראר

his gall was trailed along the earth.



בתיהא דנפאק מן פומה

By the breath which poured out from his mouth,



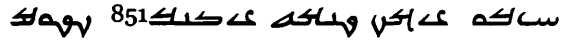
קאימיא טוריא ובאשליא

the mountains start up and boil.



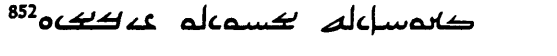
קאימיא ובאשליא טוריא

The mountains start up and boil.



בזיהירא דמן פורה דעור נפאק

by the poison which poured out from the mouth of Ur.



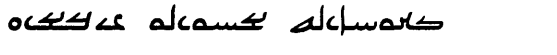
עתאהזילה בהאילא דרביא

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,



דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father had given me.



עתאהזילה בהאילא דרביא

---

851 'Ur, the Leviathan, in the Mandaean system is the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (monsters). The mythological archetype of this figure is he Babylonian Tia'mat, the chaos-monster slain by Marduk in the history of creation. Jonas believes that the closest Gnostic parallel to our tale is to be found in the Jewish apocryphal Acts of *Kyriakos* and *Julitta*, "where the prayer of *Kyriakos* relates how the hero, sent out by his Mother into foreign land, the "city of darkness," after long wandering and passing through the waters of the abyss meets the dragon, the "king of the worms of the earth, whose tail lies in his mouth. This is the serpent that led astray through passions the angels from on high; this is the serpent that led astray the first Adam and expelled him from Paradise . . . " (Jonas, 1958: 117), (See above § 2.3.7).

852 This verse is not found in BL 23600 40r & BLO 1236: 40r.

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,

ܐܪܡܝܠ ܒ853ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܐܢܐ

אתיא מן תיהה לילבושיא

and some of his breath reached my garment.

ܐܠܗܐ ܐܪܡܝܠ ܕܫܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܟܕ

כד מן תיהא לילבושיא מאטיא

When some of his breath reached my garment,

ܕܝܗܟܐܬ ܥܫܬܐ ܕܝܐܩܕܐ

דיהכאת עשאתא דיאקדא

the burning flame (of his breath) was extinguished.

ܕܝܐܩܕܐ ܕܝܗܟܐܬ ܥܫܬܐ

עשאתא יאקדא דיהכאת

The burning flame was extinguished,

ܒܠܐ ܐܪܩܐ ܘܒܗܒܐ ܗܒܐ

הבאק בהבאקה וארקא בלא

he embraced the earth in his embrace and swallowed it up.

ܟܕ ܗܒܐ ܘܒܠܐ ܐܪܩܐ

כד הבאק ובלא ארקא

When he embraced and swallowed up the earth,

ܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܬܐܪ ܫܝܪܝܐܢܐ ܕܗܫܘܟܐ ܫܘܪܗ

שורה על תאר שיריאנא דהשוכא נפאל

his navel fell upon the gate of the stream (lit: vein) of darkness.

ܟܕ ܫܘܪܗ ܥܬܝܓܢܐ ܒܫܝܪܝܐܢܐ ܕܗܫܘܟܐ

כד שורה עתיגנא בשיריאנא דהשוכא

When his navel lay in the vein of darkness,

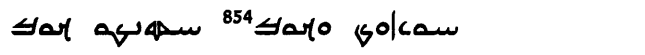
ܟܘܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܐܬܓܒܪ ܗܫܘܟܐ

השוכא כולה מינה גבאל

all the darkness was formed from him.

---

853 In BL 23600 40r: 9 & BLO 1236: 40r: 9 we read: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܐܢܐ.



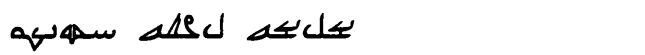
האיזאך אתאר השוכא תאר

Then the place of darkness was enlarged,



וליגטה בליבה

and he grasped it with its heart.



בליבה ליגטה השוכא

In his heart he grasped the darkness,



כאנא דמינה הוא

the *kanna* (place), from which he came to being.



נסאבתינון לאינה

I seized his eyes



וכאפתינון לליבה

and fettered his heart.



שארינין לילופתה

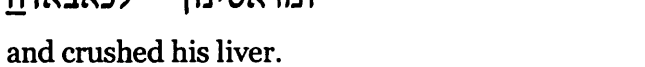
I dissolved his joints

(GRR p. 101)



ומראסינון לכאבאדה

and crushed his liver.



כארסה במעייא אתנאתה

I folded his stomach with his bowels,

---

[854] in BL 23599 41v: 19, BL 23600 40r: 15, BL 23601 40r: 15 & BLO 1236: 40r: 15

ואפתהַ על ארקא עפיא

and I wrapped him with four shawls.

כינתהַ בשורהַ כאנילהַ

I put a band on his navel,

וגטארילהַ[855] גיטרא בליבהַ

and tied a knot around his heart.

זיהירא במייא שדילהַ

I cast poison into his bowels,

ומירתא בכילהַ קומתהַ

and gall into his whole stature.

דימיהתא באינהַ נפאלילהַ[856]

A tear filled his eye,

דַהאמימא לנורא דאמיא

which was flaming like fire.

עסתארבהַ במאצפוטיאתא[857]

---

[855] The knots (usually odd in numbers) are used in exorcism, to break the spells, or for healing, and the magician had recourse to several options are used as a powerful means to subdue evil. In text 22:213 ff. Hibil says, "I sent against him (the demon) the knot which was above all knots .." (Yamauchi, 1967: 249). In Surah no. 113 of the Qur'an "Muhammad seeks refuge from the "evil of blowers (feminine) upon knots النفاثات في العُقد." (Ibid 60) The story tellers say that "a Jew called Lubaid and his daughters bewitched Muhammad by tying eleven knots in a cord which they hid in a well. The result was that the Prophet fell seriously ill and would undoubtedly have died had not God intervened" (Budge, 1930: 62).

[856] דימיהתא in BL 23600 40r: 21 & BLO 1236: 40r: 21.

[857] עסתארבהַ in BL 23601: 40r.

He was bound with a fetter,

ܐܝܟ ܕܟ ܥܒܘܥ

דַאביא מן דילַה

which was thicker than he was.

ܥܒܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܟ

מן דילַה אביא

It was thicker than he was

ܠܟܟܟ[858] ܒܟܗܨܨܒܪ

וראסיסתינון לגירמַה

and it crushed his bones.

ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܘܟ ܒܟܗ

קאבא בפומַה נפאלַה

A muzzle was placed (lit. fell) on his mouth,

ܐܠܟܗܐ ܥ ܒܟܗܟ ܒܟܐ ܒܟܐ

ועזדימים בזמאמא דַפאריזלא

and he was bridled with an iron bridle.

ܒܟܠ ܒܟܟ ܒܟ ܟܗ

עתארכיש בעדַה וליגרַה

He was bound hand and foot,

ܒܟܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟ

ועלַה נפאלַה בדופנַה

and pain assailed his side.

ܐܠܗܐ ܥ ܒܟܟ ܒܟ ܒ

היצביא ברישיא נפאלַה

Convulsions attacked (lit. fell on) his head,

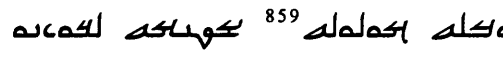
ܒ ܐܠܟ ܐ ܐܠܟ

ואינַה סאימאלַה ולאנאהרא

and his eyes went blind and shone no more.

---

[858] Read ܒܟܗܨܨܒܪ (PE. Pf. RSS to crush, to break to pieces). ܒܟܗܨܨܒܪ in the other copies.



אגארלה מאלאלה בפומה לדאיוא

The wretched became tongue tied



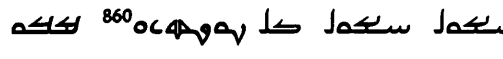
בכאנא דנאפשיא עסתאר

and confined himself in his own *kanna* (place).



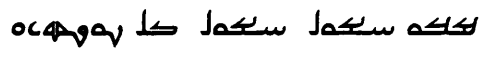
עסתאר בכאנא דנאפשיא

In his own *kanna* (place) he confined himself.



הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא קרא

"Alas, Alas onto myself", he cried.



קרא הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא

"Alas, Alas, onto myself," he cried,



ועשאתא דנאפשיא האמים עלה

and his own fire scorched him.



ואי ואי קרא לנאפשיא

"Woe, woe", he cried for himself,



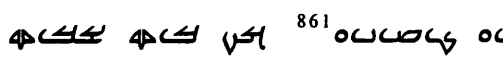
דעלאוה רוגזא הוא

as anger overtook him.



עלאוה הוא רוגזא

Anger overtook him,



---

859  BL 23600: 40r.

860  BL 23599 42r: 3, BLO 1236: 40r: 23.

שיהאניא כיסיויא מן ריש בריש

and ulcers covered him from head to toe.

ܐܦܪܫ ܐܪܫܡ ܠܡܐ ܠܡܐ

אלאי אלאי קאריא בישא

"Woe, Woe," cried the evil one,

ܒܝܫܐ ܐܪܫܡܐ ܐܪܫ ܒܠܫܒ

הון מיא תאהמיא כולהון

(and) all the waters became turbid.

ܐܪܫܡܐ ܐܪܫ ܒܝ

הון מיא תאהמיא

All the waters became turbid,

ܐܫܡܒܠ [862]ܠܟܐܦܫ ܐܒܐ

ואינה השאכלה ולאנאהרא

and his eyes darkened and shone no more.

ܐܫܫܐ ܠܐܫܫ ܐܒܒܠ

גאנפה הבאט בארקא

His wings pounded the ground

ܐܫܠܫ ܐܒܝܢ ܗܫ

גוהא עתיגנא בליבה

(and) thunder pealed in his heart.

ܐܫܫܐ ܐܒ ܫܫܫ

עקבה גנא בארקא

His heel stamped on the ground,

ܐܒܘܫܫ ܐܪܒܪܫ ܫܒܐܠ

הצאבלה היצביא בדופנה

spasms attacked his sides.[863]

ܐܪܦܒܐܒܐ ܐܒܐܟܫ ܫܐܐܫ ܐܒܘܦ ܒܠܟ

---

[861] ܐܫܐ BL 23601: 40v.
[862] ܐܟܐܦ BL 23600: 40v.
[863] or: sores filled his chest (MD, p. 105).

מליך השוכא עסתאר בכאנא דַנאפשיא

The King of Darkness concealed himself in his own *kanna* (place),

[864]

מן מינילתאי דיליא לאהואת עלה̲

and none of my words reached him.

עשתאהאט בתיניקתה̲ ואמאר

He hurled himself down with moans and cried:

האיאסא הוס עלאי

"Compassionate one, have mercy upon me."

כד̲ דַאמאר האיאסא הוס עלאי

When he cried: "Compassionate one, have mercy upon me!"

כול דַאכאל מן פומה̲ שדא

Whatever he had devoured he cast out of his mouth,

כול דַאכאל שדא מן פומה̲

everything he had devoured he cast out from his mouth,

(GRR p. 102)

וסניא ריהא דַסרותא

and its foul stench was repulsive.

[865] [866]

כד̲ דַאמאר תאיבא תוב עלאי

When he said: "Compassionate One, have compassion on me,"

---

[864] BL 23600: 40v.
[865] not in BL 23600: 40v and BL 23601: 40v.
[866] in BL 23601: 40v.



כולהון סאגאדה עתבאדרויא

all his worshipers scattered.



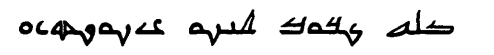
עתבאדרויא סאגאדה

His worshipers scattered,



וטונא דנאפשיא עלה כדאר

and his own burden pressed hard on him.



עלה כדאר טונא דנאפשיא

His own burden pressed hard on him,



דנפאש וסאכא ליתלה

which was colossal and had no end.



כד מיתינהיז ימיתנאהאז

When he clattered about boisterously,



אנידה לשכינתה

he shook his *škina*.



כד לשכינתה אנידה

When he shook his *škina*,



עתגאנאר עלה נאטריא

guards were provided for (: set over) him.



נאטריא דעתגאמאר עלה

The guards who were set over him

ܐܠܡܐ ܒܘܪܝܐ ܓܐܒܐܪܝܐ

גאבאריא בוריא דַאלמא

were giants and monsters of the world.

ܕ

ܡܢ ܒܘܪܝܐ ܘܓܐܒܐܪܝܐ

מן בוריא וגאבאריא

Because of the giants and monsters,

ܓܘܗܐ ܒܝܠܒܐ ܕܪܘܗܐ ܥܬܝܓܡܐ

גוהא בילבא דַרוהא עתיגמא

a spasm shook the heart of Rūha.

ܓܘܗܐ ܥܬܝܓܢܐ ܒܠܝܒܐ ܕܪܘܗܐ

גוהא עתיגנא בליבא דַרוהא

A spasm shook the heart of Rūha,

ܒܟܝܐ ܘܢܐܗܡܐ ܘܩܐܡܝܐ

באכיא ונאהמא וקאמיא

she wept, groaned and sobbed,

ܘܐܡܪܐܠܗ ܠܒܘܪܐ ܫܐܦܠܐ

ואמראלה לבורא שאפלא

and addressed the base monster,

ܗܝܐܘܬܐ ܕܣܐܝܢܐ ܘܢܕܐܕܐ

האיותא דַסאינא ונדאדא

the repulsive filthy snake,

ܕ ܐܬܝܐ ܪܝܗܐ ܕܣܪܘܬܗ

ד אתיא ריהא דַסרותה

whose foul breath rose up (from him):

ܡܢ ܗܐܝܙܝܢ ܐܒܐܕܒܐܟ

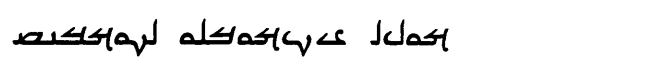
מן האיזין אבאדבאך

“Who has done this to you,

ܢܣܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܟ ܗܕܐ

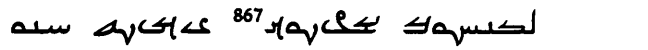
והאלין דנאניא מאן דאנאנאך

who has caused you this humiliation?"



מאליל דַנימארלא לנאמרוס

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,



לעוצאר בגינאת דַמינהַ הוא

to the treasure in the garden (?) from which he came into being.



כד הא דַנימארלא

When he would speak to her,



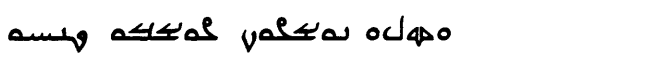
רהישאלהַ בפומהַ פוכתא

the bridle moved about in his mouth.



פוכתא בפומהַ רהישאלהַ

The bridle moved about in his mouth,



אשליא ואבגאן גאברא פוהא

(and) the man screamed and howled, "Alas!"



אשליא פוהא בגאן גאברא

"Alas," the man cried and howled,



מארא דַכולהַ אלמא

---

867  in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.

868  in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.

869 The second  not in BL 23599 42v: 6 & BL 23601 41r: 1.

870  BL 23600 40v: 19 & BLO 1236: 40v: 20.

the Lord of the whole world.

ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ

מאליל דַנימארלא לנאמרוס

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܠܢܡܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ

עמא דַהאזין אלמא

the mother of this world:

ܐܡܗ ܕܗܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܡܪܬ

גאברא דַהאזין עבאדליא

"The man who has done this to me

ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܗ ܓܒܪܐ

נפיש מן כולהַ אלמא

is greater than all the world.

ܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܢܦܗ ܙܝܬ

דמותהַ דַאנפהַ הזית

I beheld the countenance of his face,

ܘܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܠܐܩܐܡܝܬ ܠܐ

ועל כולהַ קומתהַ לאקאמית

but I did not equal his whole stature.

ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܗ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܠܐܩܐܡܝܬ

לאקאמית עך כולהַ קומתהַ

I did not equal his whole stature,

ܐܡܪ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܝܢܛܘܠ

אמינטול דַנפיש מן כולהון אלמיא

because he is greater than all the worlds."

ܫ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐܡܗ ܐܡܪܠܐ ܟܕ

כדַ האזא אמארלא לעמהַ

When he had thus spoken to his mother,

[871]ܥܪܒ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܕܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ

באייא דַניגאירא לנאפשיא

he wanted to commit adultery with her.

ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܝܙܕܗܪܝܒ ܥܠ ܗܘ

מאלאכיא דַמיזדאהריבַה

The angels who were watching him

ܐܣܩܠܗ ܫܡܐ ܒܛܠܐ ܠܗ

אסיקלַה שומא באטלא

called him by his worthless name.

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐܒܪܗ ܗܕܐ

הדא להאברַה אמאר

One says to the other:

ܐܘܪ ܡܬܢܗ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܗ ܐܙܠ

עור מיתנאהאז מן דוכתַה

"Ur is moving from his place!"

(GRR p. 103)

ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܐ ܪܘܚܐ

כַד האזא שימאת רוהא

When Rūha heard this,

ܥܠ ܦܬܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ

עדא לרישא שאדיא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head.

ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܦܬܐ ܥܠ

עדא שאדיא לרישא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head,

ܘܓܘܕܠܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ ܣܐܬܪܐ

וגודלא בריש סאתרא

and ravages the plait(s) of her head.

---

[871] In BL 23600 40v: 26 & BLO 1236: 40v: 26 ܥܪܒ ܠܗ is not found.

𐡏𐡊𐡓𐡀 𐡎𐡀𐡕𐡓𐡀 𐡁𐡓𐡔𐡀

גודלא סאתרא ברישא

She ravages the plait(s) of her head

𐡏𐡀𐡋𐡀𐡉 𐡀𐡋𐡀𐡉 𐡅𐡀𐡋𐡀𐡉 𐡃𐡌𐡒𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡀

ואלאי אלאי דַמקאריא

and cries: "Alas, alas!"

𐡓𐡅𐡄𐡀 𐡅𐡏𐡎𐡕𐡉𐡓𐡀𐡀𐡕𐡀[872]

רוהא ועסתיראתא

Rūha and the *astartes* (female demons)

𐡒𐡀𐡉𐡌𐡀 𐡅𐡓𐡀𐡆𐡀 𐡀𐡔𐡋𐡀

קאימא וראזא האשלא

stand there and devise mysteries.

𐡒𐡀𐡉𐡌𐡀 𐡅𐡀𐡔𐡔𐡋𐡀 𐡓𐡀𐡆𐡉𐡀

קאימא והאשלא ראזיא

They stand there and devise mysteries

𐡏𐡀𐡓 𐡂𐡀𐡁𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡀 𐡍𐡀𐡈𐡓𐡉𐡀[873] 𐡏𐡀𐡋

על גאבאריא נאטריא דַעור

against the giants, the guards of 'Ur.

𐡀𐡍𐡀

אנא דַהזאיתַה

I, when I saw it,

𐡀𐡄𐡃𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡋𐡄 𐡐𐡀𐡓𐡒𐡎𐡀

אהדארילַה פארקסא

I encircled him with a chain

𐡃𐡄𐡃𐡀𐡓𐡋𐡄[874] 𐡐𐡀𐡓𐡒𐡎𐡀

דַהדארלַה פארקסא

---

[872] 𐡏𐡕𐡉𐡓𐡀 *'stira* or *'stra* Akk. Ištar (Venus-Libat) used of female demons (MD p. 355).

[873] BL 23600 41r: 1 & BLO 1236: 41r: 1𐡏𐡀𐡔𐡒𐡋

[874] Read 𐡋𐡒𐡔.

the chain which I encircled him with

ܕܗܐܘܝܐ ܣܒܐܠ ܒܠܗܐܒ ܫܘܡܝܐ

דַהאויא סבאל בלהאב שומיא

became a ladder (?) in the heart of the sky

ܩܪܝܬ ܘܥܫܐܘܝܠܗ ܫܘܪܐ ܫܘܪ ܦܐܪܙܠܐ

קרית ועשאוילַה שורא שור פארזלא

I created and erected a wall for him, an iron wall,

ܘܗܕܐܪܬܐ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܕܐܝܪܗ

והדארתא לכולַה דאירַה

and I surrounded his dwelling.

ܫܘܪܐ ܕܗܐܕܪܝܠܗ ܢܐܛܪܝܐ ܫܐܘܝܬ ܥܠܗ

שורא דהאדרילַה נאטריא שאוית עלַה

Upon the wall with which surrounded him, I appointed watchers;

ܢܐܛܪܝܐ ܕܡܝܙܕܐܗܪܝܒܗ ܒܡܐܪܒܐ

נאטריא דַמיזדאהריבַה במארבא

watchers who kept a watch over his lair.

ܫܐܘܝܒܗ ܣܪܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܐ ܒܐܒܝܐ

שאויבַה סרין וארבא באביא

I set in it twenty four gates,

ܕܒܘܢ ܡܝܬܢܐܛܐܪ ܐܠܡܐ

דַבון מיתנאטאר אלמא

by which (his) world is guarded.

ܡܝܬܢܐܛܐܪ ܐܠܡܐ ܒܘܢ

מיתנאטאר אלמא בון

Through them (his) world is guarded

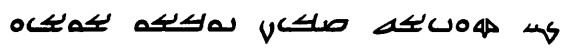
ܘܣܐܠܝܩ ܐܩܪܦܪܐ ܥܠܗ

וסאליק אקרפרא עלַה

---

875 ܣܒܐܠ, *Nöldeke*: ladder (doubt) (MD p. 316) Arabic سبيل way, path, road. (Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, p. 396).

and dust rises on him.



כַּד שאויבה סרין ורבא באביא

When I set the twenty-four gates in it,



אלאי אלאי פוהא אמאר

he cried: "Woe, alas, alas!



כַּד כאפינא מאהו עכול

When I am hungry, what shall I eat?



ו כַּד צאהינא מאהו עשתיא

When I am thirsty, what shall drink?



ועל מאהו עשכוב

and on what shall I lie down,



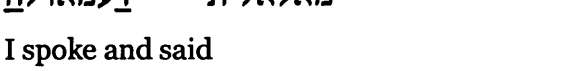
ומאן ניהויליא צאותא

and who will be my companion ?"



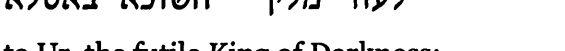
מאלאלית דַּעמארלה

I spoke and said



לעור מליך השוכא באטלא

to Ur, the futile King of Darkness:



טאבא בטאבותה סאליק

"The good one because of his virtue ascends

ܐܙܝܠܗ ܠܐܬܪ ܢܗܘܪ

האזילה לאתאר נהור

and beholds the Place of Light.

[876]ܒܝܫܐ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܗ ܡܝܦܣܩ

בישא בבישותה מיפסק

The evil one because of his wickedness is cut off

ܒܬܪܝܐ ܫܘܟ ܬܫܟܘܒ

בתיריא השוך תישכוב

in the place of darkness.

You will lie at the gates of darkness,

ܟܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܗ ܗܘܝܬ

כאנא דמינה הוית

the *kanna* (place), whence you came.

ܗܘ ܨܐܘܬܐ ܢܐܗܘܝܠܐܟ

הו צאותא נאהוילאך

It shall be your companion,

ܟܐܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܥܣܬܐܪܒܗ

כאנא דבה עסתארבה

the *kanna* (place), in which you concealed yourself.

ܟܕ ܐܢܬ ܟܦܢܝܬ ܐܟܘܠ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܒܐܬܐܟ

כד כאפנית אכול מן שורבאתאך

When you are hungry, (then) eat from your own tribe (or: hosts),

ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܝܢܐܟ ܗܘܐ

מן כול דמינאך הוא

---

[876] ܒܝܫܐ in BL 23601: 41r.

[877] BL 23600 41r: 13 ܟܬ ܒ. In BL 23600 41r: 13 ܟܬܒ. ܟܬ not in BL 23601 41r: 25 ܟܬ.

[878] ܫܘܟ not in BL 23601 41r: 25.

of everything which has come from you.

ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢܟ

מישיתיאך מן מיא סיאויא

Your drink shall be from those black waters,

ܫܬܝܬܟ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܣܝܐܘܝܐ[879]

האניך דַבגאואיהון דארית

where you have dwelt."

ܘ

ܟܕ ܐܟܠ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܣ[880] ܗܟܢܐ

כדַ עכול ולאסיבית

"When I eat and have not had enough,

ܡܢ ܝܢ ܕܢܣܬܪ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܕܘܟܬܗ

מאן ניסימכא לתיראת על דוכתהַ

who will sustain my inner parts in their place?

ܟܕ ܐܫܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܣܬܒܥ ܗܟܢܐ

וכדַ עשתיא ולאעסבא

When I drink and am not satisfied

ܡܢ ܝܢ ܢܬܝܠ ܠܝ ܠܥܘܬܐ

מאן ניהיליא לצאותא

who will quench my thirst?"

(GRR p. 104)

ܘ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܝܬ ܒܝܫܐ ܗܟܢܐ

כדַ האזין אמאר בישא

When the evil one spoke thus,

ܐܢܐ ܥܗܟܝܬ ܘܥܬܓܐܝܝܬ ܒܐܠܗܘܫܐܝ

אנא עהכית ועתגאיית באלהושאי

---

[879] BL 23599 43r: 5, BL 23600 41r: 13 & BL 23601 41r: 25 ܫܬܝ.
[880] ܐܟܠ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41r.

I laughed and I was resplendent in my garment.

ܠܗ ܐܪܝܫܝ ܐܟܣܝܬ

עלה וגיהכית ואסברית

I mocked and laughed at him,

ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܠܗ[881] ܕܠܐ ܥܕܐ ܠܐ ܣܒ

על היותא דלא עדא ולאליגריא

at the serpent who is without hands and feet.

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܝܬ

דבית דתיכלה לכולה אלמא

"You sought to devour the whole world,

ܐܠܐ ܘܟܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ

מנילתא דהייא ניטיאת

(but) the word of Life came,

ܘܐܫܬܟܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܟܬܒ

דהינון שאליטיא ומפאקדיא

which was powerful and commanding."

ܐ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܐ

כד האיזין אמארילה

When I thus spoke to him,

ܒܟܐ ܘܐܬܚܒܠ ܠܗ ܫܒܠ

האוליל ועל נאפשיא בכא

he wailed and wept unto himself.

ܘܫܒܠ ܘܐܬܚܒܠ[882] ܠܗ ܒܟܐ ܫܒܠ

האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא ואנאר

He wailed and wept unto himself, and said:

ܒܥܐ ܫܒܪ ܐܡܪ

---

[881] BL 23599 43r: 10 & BL 23601 41v: 4 ܘܐܫ ܐܠܗ.

[882] BL 23599 43r: 14, BL 23600 41r: 22, BL 23601 41v: 8 & BL 23600 41r: 22 ܐܬܚܒܠ.

מיאכא דַראב מינאך

"Is there anyone who is greater than you,

[883]

דַמשאלאט על אלמיא כולהון

who has the authority upon all the worlds?

עו עכא דַראב מינאך

If there is anyone who is greater than you,

[884]

אנאת הויא עלאי במאטותא

be you lenient to me.

[885]

ועל דַהטית לאתאגזאר עלאי

If I sinned, do not condemn me,

[886]

אנאת במאטותא הוע עלאי

be, you, lenient to me.

מאראן הטין והטאינין

Lord ! we have greatly sinned.

האטאיאן והאובון תישבוקלאן

Forgive our sins and trespasses.

[887]

תיהוילאך עלאי במאטותא

Be compassionate to us,

---

883 BL 23601: 41v.
884 BL 23601: 41v. BL 23600: 41r and BLO 1236: 41r.
885 This verse not in BL 23600 41r: 25.
886 BL 23600: 41v.
887 BL 23601 .

וכולאן נישתפיל לאתותאך

and we all will abase ourselves beneath you."

אנא טאבא אנא על טאביא

"I am the good, I am for the good,

עלאואיכון הייא משאלטיא

(but) Life has the authority over you."

מאלאלית ואמארילה

I spoke and said to him:

[888] אלמא דניבון הייא

"Until the Life wishes it,

ואבאתאר להאכא ניתינציב

and Abatur is planted hither.

אלמא דמיתיקריא אבאתאר

Until Abatur is called into being,

[889] ובניא שלאמא ניתקרון

and the sons of perfection are called into being,

---

888 BLO 1236: 41r: 22.

889 BL 23599 43r: 21, BL 23600 41v: 6, BL 23601 41v: 15 & BLO 1236: 41v: 6. The four sons of perfection are: 'yn-hai, šum-hai, ziu-hai and nhūr-hai (GRR, p. 226: 6). Cf. the four archangels (or: light-givers) Raphael, Michael, Uriel, and Gabraiel mentioned in Enoch 9-10 (Stroumsa, 1984: 55 and n. 77).

ניתאקאן משאוניאת עשאתא האיתא

until (the Life) provides the sublime living fire

ܐܟܟܝܐ ܫܠܚ [890]ܢܝܬܝܩܪܝܐ

וגאברעיל שליהא ניתיקריא

and Gabriel, the envoy, is called into being,

ܐܠܡ ܐܟܟܝܐ [891]ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ

ניתפאקאד וניקריא אלמא

(then) he will be instructed and create the world.

ܐܠܡܐ ܐܬܟܝܐ ܐܝܬܝ

ניתיא נימסיא מסותא

He will arrive and cause a condensation,

ܐܟܟܝܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܟܟܐ

וארקא יאונאיית ניקריא

and creates the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[892]

[893]ܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܟܟܐ ܐܟܟܝܐ

ניקריא ארקא יאונאיית

He will create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks,

ܐܟܫܡܝ ܐܟܝ ܐܟ ܠܟ [894]ܐܟܝܐ

וניטימא לבירא דַמיא תאהמיא

and stops up the well of the stagnant water.

ܡܢ ܐܩܐܦܪܐ ܕַܣܐܠܝܩ ܡܢ ܣܝܢܝܐܘܝܣ

From the dust which rises up from Siniawis (the underworld),

---

[890] Gabriel is associated with Ptahil (see above 2. 2. 6).

[891] BL 23599 43r: 21 ܐܠܡ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܠܫܡ ܫܠܚ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ. BL 23600 41v: 6 ܐܠܡ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܠܫܡ ܫܠܚ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ . BL 23601 41v: 15 ܐܟܟܝܐ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܠܫܡ ܫܠܚ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ ܐܟܟܝܐ ܠܫܡ ܫܠܚ ܘܓܒܪܥܝܠ

[892] This verse is a reflection of the Hellenistic influence on Mesoepotamia. We recall the distinguished works of Berosus (a Hellenistic Babylonian writer and astronomer 3rd century B.C.E.) who introduced the writings of the Babylonians concerning astronomy and philosophy amongst the Greeks.

[893] ܝܘܢܝܐ ܕ BL 23601.

[894] BL 23600 41v: 10 ܐܟܝܐ.

ܗܝܘܝܐ [895]ܥܠܝܟ ܒܡܐܪܙܒܐܡܐ ܢܝܗܘܝܐ

there will be a conduit for you,

ܠܡܣܗܛ [896]ܒܥܫܐܬܐ ܗܝܬܐ

to mingle with the living fire,

ܘܢܝܡܐܠܝܠܝܒܗ [897]ܡܝܐ ܗܝܝܐ ܘܪܐܘܙܝܐ [898]

and it will be filled with living and bright water,

ܕܪܝܗܐܝܘܢ ܒܐܣܝܡܐ

whose fragrance is sweet,

ܘܡܝܢܐܝܘܢ ܛܐܒܘܬܐ ܡܝܬܢܝܣܒܐ

and from them goodness is obtained.

ܘܡܢ ܫܦܝܬܘܢ ܕܗܐܢܐܬܘܢ ܡܝܐ

And from the overflow of those waters

(GRR p. 105)

ܥܘ ܨܐܗܝܬ ܢܝܗܘܝܐ ܠܡܝܫܝܬܝܐܟ

shall be your drink if you get thirsty.

ܡܢ ܥܟܝܠܬܐ ܕܥܟܠܐ ܥܫܐܬܐ ܥܟܝܠܬܐ

From the food which the devouring fire devours;

---

[895] ܗܝܘܝܐ BL 23601: 41v.
[896] ܠܡܣܗܛ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41v and BLO 236: 41v.
[897] BL 23599 43v: 5 there is ܘܢܝܡܐܠܝܠܝܒܗ. BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ܘܢܝܡܐܠܝܠܝܒܗ
[898] BL 23600 41v: 13 & BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ܡܝܐ.

דַעלאך נאפיל מן האך

the (scraps) which falls upon you from that;

ܕܥܠܐܟ ܢܐܦܝܠ ܡܢ ܗܐܟ

דַיאתיר ונאפיל מנה

the leftovers which drop form it,

ܡܐܘܟܠܬܐܟ ܬܗܘܝܐ

מאוכלתאך תיהויא

shall be your food.

ܟܐܝܕܕܠ ܟܐܫܬܢ ܟܐܪܗܡ ܟܐܣܡܣ ܟܝ

מן סאהראך ודאיואך הומראך ולילאתאך

(Let) some of your demons, *diwis*, *humras* and *liliths*,

[899]ܗܝܢܘܢ ܟܐܠܣܬ ܝܗ

הינון ניהוילאך מאכולתאך

become your food.

ܡܫܟܟ ܕܝܢܝܓ ܪܩܝܗ ܟܕ

כַד מיתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament is spanned out

ܗܝܡܬܐ ܟܐܠܘܝ ܬܫܬܝܦܝܠ

הימתא עלאואך תישתיפיל

wrath will fall on you.

ܐ

ܥܘܪ ܒܢܝܗܡܬܐ ܢܐܗܝܡ ܘܐܡܐܪܠܝܐ [900]ܟܕ

עור בניהמתא נאהים ואמארליא

'Ur groaned loudly and said to me:

ܐܠܡܐ ܠܥܡܐܬ ܥܗܘܝܐ ܒܐܠܗܘܕܐܝ

אלמא לעמאת עהויא באלהודאי

---

[899] ܗܝܢܘܢ in BL 23600 41v: 18.

[900] Mead believes that 'Ur is originally the Caldaean Deus Lunus (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of "Ophite" origin. (See Mead, 1924: 35 note 2, and §2.3.7 above).

“How long must I live alone

ܥܣܝܒܠܗ ܠܛܘܢܐ ܕܐܠܡܐ

עסיבלה לטונא דאלמא

and bear the burden of the world?’

ܟ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܘܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܕ

כד האזא אמאר עור

When Ur spoke in this way,

ܪܘܚܐ ܥܡܐ ܢܐܝܕܐ ܘܡܝܬܢܐܝܕܐ

רוחא עמא נאידא ומיתנאידא

Rūha his mother shook and trembled.

ܗܐܝܩܐ ܘܡܝܬܢܐܕܐ ܪܘܚܐ

האיקא ומיתנאדא רוחא

Rūha feared and trembled,

ܘܐܠܐܝ ܐܠܐܝ ܩܐܪܝܐ

ואלאי אלאי קאריא

and cried: “Alas, alas!”

[901]ܢܗܝܡܬܐ ܢܐܗܡܐ ܪܘܚܐ

נהימתא נאהמא רוחא

Rūha groaned loudly

ܠܓܐܒܐܪܐ ܕܫܦܝܠ ܐܡܪܐܠܗ

לגאבארא דשפיל אמראלה

and said to the giant who was abased:

ܡܢ ܢܝܗܘܝܐ ܕܐܟܘܝܬܐܟ

מן ניהויא דאכויתאך

“Who will be like unto you,

[902]ܡܟܠ ܘܟܟܘܬܟ ܟܘܬܟ

---

[901] BL 23600 41v: 24 & BLO 1236: 41v: 22 ܠܓܐܒܐܪܐ ܕܫܦܝܠ ܐܡܪܐܠܗ ܢܗܝܡܬܐ ܢܐܗܡܐ ܪܘܚܐ

[902] ܡܟܠ BL 23601: 42r.

וניקום וניראבריא לאלמאך

and rise and lead your world?

מאן מארה לסאהראך ניהויא

Who will be lord over your demons,

ומשאלטאנא להומראך

and master of your *humras*?

עותאנא וגאבארא

(Is he) a powerful one, a giant?

מאן נאסיבלה לצאותאך

Who will hold your colours (or: banners),

האיזאך ענשיא לגיואת ענשיא

(the women, the splendour of the women ?"

כד האיזין אמאר בישא

When the evil one(s) had thus spoken,

מלאלית ואמארנאלון על כול צבו[903]

I answered and spoke to them about all things,

כד צאביא רביא האך

"As the Great One wills it,

[903] BL 23600 42r: 2 & BLO 1236: 42r: 2

דַהואת מן דוכתה

thus it came to pass immediately.

כד צאביא רביא

As the Great One wills it,

אבאהאתאי דַניצבון אמרילא

my Father, who planted (or: created) me, told it to me,

מיקרא מאמלאליא

The voices proclaim:

מא דַמהאשבא רוהא

that which Rūha planned

ניהון קאלא באטליא

will be idle voices.

כד ניהון שובא

When the Seven planets came to being

דַמינאיהון הוסראנא האויא

from whom need is produced.

שאמאיהון דַהאנאתון קאליא

(Then) the names of those voices

[904] BL 23599 44r: 3, BL 23600 42r: 4, BL 23601 42r: 14 & BLO 1236: 42r: 4 .... מא דַמהאשבא רוהא מלכא דַנהורא דַיתבא

[905] (ד) not in BL 23600 42r: 8 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8.

כתיב ומאפראש עלאואיהון

will be written down and pronounced over them.

ܐܠܗܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܘܡܦܪܫ ܥܠܘܗܝܗܘܢ

תום האויאן תריסאר קאליא

Thereupon the twelve voices come into being,

ܬܘܡ ܗܐܘܝܐܢ ܬܪܝܣܐܪ ܩܐܠܝܐ

דמינאיהון האויא האסאר ובציר

from which all the flaws and defects are produced.

ܕܡܝܢܐܝܗܘܢ ܗܐܘܝܐ ܗܐܣܐܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

ובהאשאבתא דכאדאבתיא

Because of the plan of the liar,

ܘܒܗܐܫܐܒܬܐ ܕܟܐܕܐܒܬܝܐ

מיתיסרין בכאריותא

they are seized by sorrows.

ܡܝܬܝܣܪܝܢ ܒܟܐܪܝܘܬܐ

האוין האמשא קאליא

Five voices come into being,

(GRR p. 106)

ܗܐܘܝܢ ܗܐܡܫܐ ܩܐܠܝܐ

דבזיויהתא מיתאהזין

who make a terrifying appearance.

ܕܒܙܝܘܝܗܬܐ ܡܝܬܐܗܙܝܢ

דהאזילון אלמיא ומידאהליא

The worlds behold them and are petrified;

ܕܗܐܙܝܠܘܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ ܘܡܝܕܐܗܠܝܐ

ומיתאהזיא בכאנא דנורא דיאקדא

and they appear in the *kanna* (place) of the burning fire.

---

906 BL 23599 44r: 6, BL 23600 42r: 8, BL 23601 42r: 17 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8 ܐܠܗ.

907 ܗܘ not in BL 23600 42r: 10 & BLO 1236: 42r: 10.

908 ܗܘ ܐ in the other manuscripts.

ܒܓܝܪܓܠܝܐ ܕܪܘܓܙܐ ܡܐܣܓܝܢ

בגירגליא דַרוגזא מאסגין

They march in the wheels of anger,

ܒܓܐܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܝܬܐܗܙܝܢ

בגאונא דַנורא מיתאהזין

and appear in the colours of fire.

[909]ܐܡܪܝܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܩܐܕܡܝܐ

אמרילא על קאדמייא

They spoke to me about the first (events),

ܘܐܦܪܝܫܘܢ ܥܠ ܕܗ ܘܕܗ

ואפרישון על דה ודה

and clarified all and sundry.

ܡܐܦܪܝܫܝܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܩܐܠܝܐ

מאפרישילא על כולהון קאלא

They informed me about all voices,

ܟܕ ܕܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܐܝܘܢ

כד דַהון מן דוכתאיון

as they happened in their place.

[910]ܐܬܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܐܠܐ

אתיא הדא קאלא

One call comes

ܘܡܐܦܪܝܫ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܩܐܠܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

ומאפריש על קאלא כולהון

and explains about all calls.

---

[909] BL 23600 42r: 15 & BLO 1236: 42r: 15 ܐܡܪܝܠܝܐ.

[910] Jonas states: "The symbol of the call as the form in which the transmundane makes its appearance within the world is so fundamental to Eastern Gnosticism that we may even designate the Mandaean and Manichean religions as "religions of the call."" (Jonas, 1958: 74).

אתיא הדא מאמלא

One speech comes

ܐܬܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܐܡܠܐ

ומיפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and explains about all speeches.

ܘܡܝܦܪܝܫ ܥܠ ܡܐܡܠܐܠܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

אתיא הדא ברא רהימא

A cherished son will come,

ܐܬܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܪܐ ܪܗܝܡܐ

דמן כאנפיא דזיוא עצטראר

who was formed from the bosom of the radiance.

ܕܡܢ ܟܐܢܦܝܐ ܕܙܝܘܐ ܥܨܛܪܐܪ

עצטראר מן כאנפיא דזיוא

From the bosom of the radiance he was formed,

ודמותה מנאטרא באתרה[911]

and his counterpart is preserved in its place.

ודמותה מנאטרא באתרה

אתיא בערותא דהייא[912]

He arrives with the splendour of Life,

ܐܬܝܐ ܒܥܪܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܝܐ

ובפאקדתא דאבויא פאקיד

and by the command which his father gave him.

ובפאקדתא דאבויא פאקיד

אתה בלבושא דעשאתא האיתא

He comes in a garment of the Living Flame,

ܐܬܗ ܒܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܥܫܐܬܐ ܗܐܝܬܐ

ומאסגיא על אלמאך

ומאסגיא על אלמאך

---

[911] BL 23600 42r: 19 & BLO 1236: 42r: 19 ܒܚܝܐ ܕܒ "in the place of Life".

[912] BL 23600 42r: 22 & BLO 1236: 42r: 22 ܗܘܝܝܐ.

and set off towards your world.



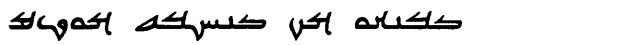
סגודתא דַרביא סאגיד

He makes a profound obeisance to the Great One



ערותא מאפיק מן עוצרה

Splendour is brought out from his thought



ערותא מן עוצרה מאפיק

From his thought splendour is brought out.



ומאיתיא מסותא וראמיא במאי

He brings solidity and throws it in the water.



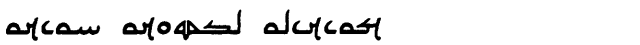
מסותא במאי ראמיא

He throws solidity in the water



ומשאויא מיצרא לאלמאך

and he appoints a limit to the worlds.



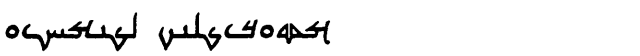
מאיתילא לעשאתא האיתא

He brings the Living Flame



וראמילא במיא תאהמיא

and casts it into the deep waters.



משאדיכלון לכומציא

He fills in the ditches,



ומיאבישלון למיא תאהמיא

and dries out the stagnant waters.

𐡀𐡋𐡌𐡀 𐡒𐡀𐡓𐡉𐡀 𐡀𐡋𐡌𐡀

אלמא קאריא

He creates a world for himself,

𐡅𐡁𐡉𐡕 𐡀𐡌𐡀 𐡁𐡉𐡕𐡀 𐡅𐡁𐡀𐡉𐡍

ובאיין ביתא כדַ רורביא

and builds a building like the Great Ones.

𐡅𐡉𐡔𐡀 𐡀𐡕𐡉 𐡌𐡍 𐡅𐡀𐡉𐡄𐡉𐡀 𐡀𐡔𐡒𐡌

צאותא מאיתיא מן בית הייא

He brings glory from the House of Life

𐡀𐡔𐡊𐡍𐡀𐡋 𐡋𐡀𐡊𐡔𐡍𐡉𐡀

ומאנהארלא לשכינתא

and illuminates the *škinas*

𐡅𐡀𐡊𐡀 𐡀𐡋𐡌𐡀 𐡋𐡀𐡋𐡊

מלכא לאלמא קאריא

He creates a king to the world

𐡀𐡔𐡉𐡓𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡎𐡆𐡀𐡉𐡕 𐡅𐡉𐡓𐡀𐡌

וראמיא בפאגרא נישימתא

and casts a soul into his body. [913]

𐡀𐡎𐡆𐡀𐡉𐡕 𐡅𐡉𐡓𐡀𐡌 𐡀𐡔𐡉𐡓𐡀𐡓

נישימתא בפאגרא ראמיא

Into his body he casts a soul,

𐡅𐡋𐡊𐡅 𐡀𐡎𐡆𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡋𐡊𐡉𐡀

ועכילתא דַפאגרא אכליא

and allows him to eat food of the body.

𐡀𐡔𐡓𐡌 𐡀𐡔𐡅𐡐𐡊𐡓 𐡋𐡓𐡌𐡉𐡕

בהאילא דַעשאתא האיתא

---

[913] Cf. 𐡀𐡔𐡓 𐡋𐡊𐡌𐡉𐡕 𐡔𐡓𐡁𐡉 𐡀𐡔𐡋𐡐 𐡅𐡓𐡉 𐡌𐡉 𐡔𐡌𐡋 𐡋𐡊𐡌𐡉𐡕 𐡀𐡅𐡓𐡓𐡉 𐡎𐡀𐡊𐡓 𐡓 𐡀𐡌𐡊𐡓𐡉 𐡅𐡔𐡓𐡐𐡋𐡓 𐡀𐡅𐡊𐡊𐡕𐡐 𐡔𐡉𐡊𐡎𐡀𐡐 𐡀𐡅𐡊𐡊𐡕 𐡊𐡊𐡕 𐡐𐡊𐡕𐡐𐡎𐡓 𐡀𐡊𐡋𐡊 𐡓𐡔𐡉𐡊 𐡋𐡎𐡀𐡓 "Ptahil threw the form which the Second (Life) had formed into the world of darkness. He made creations and formed tribes outside the Life" (GRR 287: 7).

By the strength of the living fire,

ܠܚܝܐ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ

עשאתא עכילתא מאמלילא

the devouring fire spoke.

ܢܘܪܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܠܚܝܐ

מאמלילא עשאתא עכילתא

The devouring fire spoke,

ܗܘ ܕܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ

והאויא מיני כול דהַ ודהַ

and from it all and sundry was formed.

(GRR p. 107)

[914]ܕܥܘܨܢܝܐ ܘܦܝܩܘܢܝܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܫܡܝܢ ܕܐ

כת האוין עוצאניא ופיקוניא ויארקוניא

When leaves, flowers and vegetables came to being,

ܘܟܠܗܝ ܘܦܪܝܐ ܘܥܡܒܝܐ ܘܟܘܠܗܘܢ

וכולהון פיריא עמביא ועלאניא

and all fruits, grapes and trees,

ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܘܙܝܒܗ

דַמראוזיבהַ באלמא

which (begin) to thrive in the world,

ܗܝܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܒܪܝܗܐ

בריהא דַמיא הייא

(then) by the odour of the living water,

ܘܒܪܝܗܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܕܐܝܬܐ

ובריהא דַעשאתא האיתא

and by the odour of the living flame,

ܒܣܝܡ ܪܝܗܐ ܕܣܪܘܬܢ

באסים ריהא דַסרותון

---

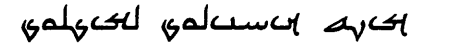
[914] In BL 23600 42v: 6 & BLO 1236: 42v: 6 ܕܥܘܨܢܝܐ is not found.

the stink of their putridity becomes pleasant.



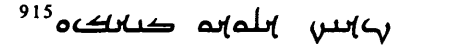
מן עכילתא דַאכלא עשאתא עכילתא

From the food which the devouring fire devours,



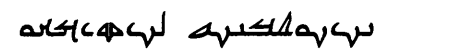
מינהַ תיהוילאך למיכלאך

will be your food.

[915] 

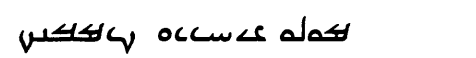
ניתון תלאתא עותריא

Three *Uthras* will arrive



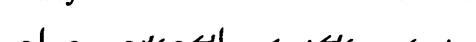
ונינאנטרונהַ לנישימתא

and safeguard the souls (*nišimata*).



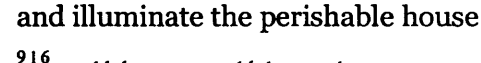
ניקרון דַהייא קאלא

They will call aloud the voice of Life,



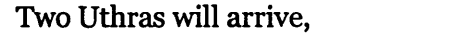
ונינהירונהַ לבאיתא נאפלא

and illuminate the perishable house (the earthly world).

[916] 

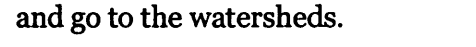
ניתון תרין עותריא

Two Uthras will arrive,



ובריש מיא נאסגון

and go to the watersheds.



לכא ניתון מיא

They will bring water hither,

---

[915] They are Hibil, Šitil and Anoš: the head of the whole race (CP, p. 58).
[916] they are Šalmai and Naidbai, guardian uthras of the Jordan (CP, p. 58).

ܘܢܝܢܝܨܒܘܢ ܝܐܪܕܢܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

וניניצבון יארדנא באלמא

and establish a Jordan (river) in the world.

ܢܝܢܝܨܒܘܢ ܝܐܪܕܢܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

ניניצבון יארדנא באלמא

A Jordan they will establish in the world,

ܘܢܝܫܪܘܢ ܥܠܗ ܨܐܘܬܐ

ונישרון עלה צאותא

and spread luster over it.

[917]ܕܝܫܝܬܠܘܢ ܢܝܫܝܬܠܘܢ ܕܟܝܫܪܝܐ

דכישריא נישיתלון שיתליא

They will plant worthy plants

ܘܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܗܘܟܡܬܐ ܘܣܐܒܪܘܬܐ ܢܝܬܝܡܠܘܢ

וסאברותא ובהוכומתא בהאימאנותא ניתימלון

They will be full of faith, wisdom and insight,

ܘܩܪܘܢ ܩܠܐ ܫܢܝܐ

וניקרון קאלא שאניא

and call (aloud) a wonderful voice.

ܢܝܩܪܘܢ ܘܩܪܘܢ ܩܠܐ

ניקרון קאלא שאניא

A wonderful voice they will call (aloud),

ܘܒܗܝܫܪܘܢ ܒܒܐܝܬܐ ܨܐܘܬܐ

ונישרון בבאיתא צאותא

and spread luster in the House.

ܕܡܝܐ ܚܢ ܕܡܫܦܝܐ ܕܫܦܝܬܐ

שפיתא דשאפיא חן מיא

The outflow that flows out of the water,

---

[917] *kišria* pl. *kišra*: success, successful. *šitlia nišitlun d-kišria* (doubtful) (MD, p. 216)

[918]𐡏𐡋𐡓𐡀 𐡋𐡔𐡁𐡉𐡀 𐡀𐡒𐡒𐡀 𐡋𐡈𐡓

דַעל ארקא תיביל נאפליא

falls onto earth Tibil.

𐡋𐡔𐡁𐡉𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡒𐡒𐡀𐡓 𐡔𐡐𐡉𐡕𐡀

שפיתא דַארקא דַתיביל

The outflow of the earth of Tibil,

𐡀𐡇 𐡒𐡋𐡔𐡍𐡉𐡀 𐡔𐡉𐡄𐡀𐡓 𐡈

עו צאהית ניהוילאך מיא

if you thirst, it shall be water for you.

𐡋𐡔𐡁𐡉𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡒𐡒𐡀𐡓 𐡀𐡉𐡕𐡀

באיתא דַארקא דַתיביל

The house of the earth of Tibil,

𐡀𐡎𐡋𐡀𐡉𐡀 𐡒𐡋𐡀𐡍𐡉𐡀 𐡀𐡔𐡍𐡉𐡀

ניהויא עלאואך בנאטריא

shall be your prison.

[919]𐡒𐡀𐡉𐡍𐡀 𐡒𐡀𐡔𐡀𐡓 𐡒𐡀𐡉𐡍 𐡍𐡀

מן בנאך דַהאוין מינאך

Some of your sons, who are from you,

[920]𐡀𐡎𐡋𐡀𐡉𐡀 𐡍𐡔𐡍𐡉𐡀 𐡒𐡋𐡀𐡒

עלאך ניהון בנאטריא

will be watchmen over you.

𐡒𐡀𐡐𐡀𐡒𐡒𐡀𐡒𐡀 𐡓𐡉𐡁𐡀𐡒𐡀𐡔𐡀𐡓 𐡍𐡔𐡍𐡉𐡀 𐡒𐡋𐡀𐡒

עלאך ניהון דַמיזדאהריבה בפארקסאך

They are charged to look after your bond.

𐡓𐡉𐡁𐡀𐡒𐡀𐡔𐡀𐡓 𐡒𐡀𐡐𐡀𐡒𐡒𐡀𐡒

מיזדאהריבה בפארקסאך

They are charged to look after your bond,

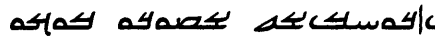
---

[918] BL 23600 42v: 16 & BLO 1236: 42v: 16 𐡏𐡋𐡓𐡀.
[919] this verse is not in BL 23601: 43r.
[920] 𐡀𐡎𐡋𐡀𐡉𐡀 is not in BL 23601: 43r.



במאצפוטתא דַהאויא מלאייא דַאלמא

(to look after) the chain which is the fullness of the world.



ניזדאהריבי בסאדא רבא

They are charged to look after your foot block,



דַכאדיר מן כולהון אלמא

which is heavier than all of the worlds.



כַד האזא שומא בישא

When the evil one heard this,



ליבהַ הימאת עתמליא

his heart became full with anger.



ליבהַ עתמליא הימתא

With anger his heart became full,



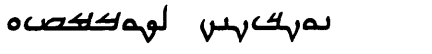
ואנידי לסאדאנא דַארקא

and he shook the anvil of the earth.



לסאדאנא דַארקא אנידהַ

He shook the anvil of the earth,



---

[921] BL 23600 42v: 24 & BLO 1236: 42v: 24 

[922] in BL 23601: 43r.

[923] is not found in BL 23600 42v: 24.

ואנדינון לפארקסיא

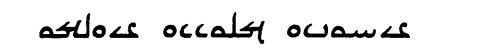
and shook the chains.



אנידהַ למאצפוטיתא

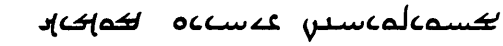
He shook the chains,

(GRR p. 108)



דַהאויא מלאייא דַאלמא

which are the fullness of the world.



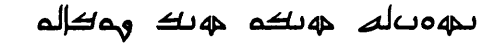
אנא בהאילאיהון דַהייא קאמית

I rose up by the strength of the Life,



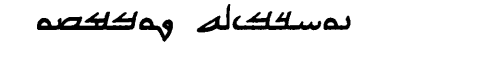
ובותא מן הייא רביא בית

and I put a request to the Great Life,



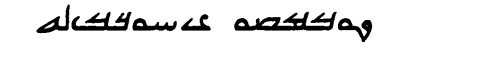
וקרית ושוילהַ שורא שור פארזלא

and I created and set a wall around him, an iron wall,



ואהדרילהַ פארקסא

and I entangled him in a bond.



דַהאדרילהַ פארקסא

In a bond I entangled him,



דַעניש בהאילהַ לאמציא

whose strength none can attain.



עניש לאמציא בהאילהַ

None can attain his strength,



דַנאנדה מן דוכתה

or shake him from its place.



עקבאי גיהנית בארקא

My heels stamped on the ground,



ואנדיתה לליבה מן סאמכה

and shook down his heart from its pillar.



כינתה בליבה כאנילה

I wrapped his heart with a veil,



וגטארילה גיטרא בקומתה

and tied a ligament around his body.



גטאריבה שובא גיטריא

I tied seven knots around him



דַקאלא דַהשוכא מינה נפאק

so the voice of darkness departed him.



גטארתא לגיטרא רבא

I tied the great knot,



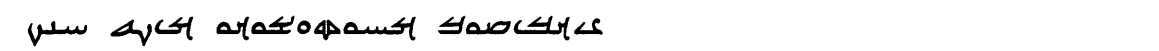
ובאטילתה לכולה מימרה

and foiled all his words.



בתריסאר כינע כאנתה

I wrapped him with twelve veils,



דתריסאר מהאשאבאתא מינה הון

so the twelve (evil) schemes departed him.



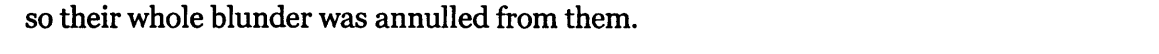
אסרתה בקאלא רבא

I bound him by the great voice,



דכולה הסראנון מינאיון בטיל

so their whole blunder was annulled from them.

 [924]

כאפתה בכיפותא

I fettered him with a fetter,



דשובא זאהריריא מינה הון

so the seven flashes departed him.



שדית בקולפא מהאיתה

I flung my club and struck him,



ופלאגילה ברישה פלוגתה

and split his head open.



אנהימתה נהימתא דענשיא

I made him shriek a womanish shriek,



ואבכיתה כד יאנקא

---

[924] BL 23599 45r: 16 & BL 23601 43r: 21 . BL 23600 43r: 9 & BLO 1236: 43r: 9 .

and I made him weep like a child.



הרא שאוילה מאכולתה

I made dung his food,



ותינא שאוילה מישתיא

and urine his drink.



דאהיכתה ליאקדאנא ולהאומא

I extinguished the fire and the glow



דעשאתא אכלא ומהאמבלא

of the devouring and destroying fire.



שיהא ניסבית מינה

I deprived him of his greed (or: lust),



ואלבישתה הימתא

and I clothed him with wrath.



דירכא לטאביא דירכית

I trod out a path for the good,



ושאוית באבא לאלמא

and I made a gateway for the world.



באבא לאלמא שאוית

A gateway for the world I made



ותראציבה כורסיא

and erected a chair (throne) in it.

כורסיא לטאביא תירצית

I erected a chair (throne) for the good ones,

[925]

ותאקניבה פאסומכא

and I set up a light beside it.

פאסימכא תאקניבה

A light I set up beside it,

דמשאלית מן ריש בריש

which is completely perfect.

ומאטרא דבניא שלאמא

And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection,

באתרא דיאתיריא ולא האסיריא

is the place where they live and without lacking anything.

(GRR p. 109)

תארצילון כארסאואתא

I set up thrones for them,

[926]

ואשלימילון עוצטליא

and presented them with robes.

---

[925] BL 23599 45r: 23 & BL 23601 43v: 3 . Not in BL 23600 43r: 17 & BLO 1236: 43r: 15.

[926] BLO 1236: 43r: 18 .

ܝܐܪܕܡܐ ܕܪܒܝܐ ܬܝܪܨܝܬ

יארדמא דַרביא תירצית

I established the Jordan of the Great [one],

ܘܐܩܡܝܬ ܥܠܗ ܕܐܬܪܝܐ

ואקמית עלַה נאטריא

and appointed guardians over it.

[927]ܐܩܡܝܬ ܬܪܝܢ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܥܠܗ ܕܐܬܪ

אקמית עלַה תרין עותריא

I stationed two *uthras* beside it,

ܕܡܝܬܐܪ ܥܬܐܪ ܘܠܐ ܗܣܪ ܕܗܘ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ

דַמיתאר עתאר ולא הסאר

who were surpassingly rich and without lacking.

ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܬܝܪܨܝܬ ܠܪܐܒ ܙܝܘܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܘܐ

כורסיא תירצית לראב זיוא

I set up a throne to Rab-Ziwa (the lord of beings of light)

ܘܬܝܪܨܝܬ ܩܕܡܝ ܦܐܣܝܡܟܐ ܕܐܬܪ

ותירצית קודאמי פאסימכא

and erected a light before it.

ܕܐܬܪ ܦܐܣܝܡܟܐ

דַתירצית פאסימכא

A light which I erected,

ܕܡܝܫܬܐܠܐܡ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܒܪܝܫ ܕܐܬ

דַמישתאלאם מן ריש בריש

which was completely perfect.

ܐ

ܐܢܐ ܒܥܪܘܬܐ ܘܬܫܒܝܗܬܐ ܕ

אנא בערותא ותשביהתא

---

[927] They are Šalmai & Nadbai, the two spirits regarded generally as the guardians of the Yardina (Jordan) river.

I with fervour and praise,

ܟܟܐ ܙܫܝܐ ܟܢܝܫ

במא דַהייא אשמון

with what the Life had caused me to hear.

ܒܥܪܘܬܐ ܬܫܒܝܗܬܐ

בערותא ותשביהתא

With fervour and praise,

ܐܣܓܝܬ ܥܙܠܝܬ ܠܒܝܬ ܪܘܪܒܝܐ

אסגית עזלית לבית רורביא

I set forth and went towards the House of the Great Ones.

ܒܗܐܕܘܬܐ ܕܗܐܕܝܢܐ

בהאדותא דַהאדינא

In the joy that I felt,

ܠܪܘܪܒܝܐ ܥܫܬܐܝܠܘܢ

עשתאיילון לרורביא

I reported to the Great Ones.

ܗܝܝܐ ܗܕܘܢ ܘܥܬܩܐܝܡ

הייא הדון ועתקאיאם

The Life rejoiced and was in high spirits,

ܘܗܕܘܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܒܪܝܫ

והדוביא מן ריש בריש

and they were overjoyed with me.

ܗܝܝܐ ܠܓܐܛ ܛܐܒܘܬܐܝ

הייא לגאט טאבותאי

The Life thanked me,

ܘܐܢܦܐܫܘܝܐ ܠܙܝܘܐܝ ܥܠ ܕܥܬܠܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܐ[928]

ואנפאשויא לזיואי על דַעתליא ואמריא

and he gave me more radiance than I had (before) and spoke (to me):

---

[928] BL 23600 43v: 1 & BLO 1236: 43v: 1 ܘܐܡܪܝܐ.

ܟܫܐ ܩܘܫܛ ܐܠܦܢ

כושטא אסיאך טאבא

"*Kušṭa* preserve you, good one,

ܘܨܒܐ ܠܡܐܠܐܠܐ ܕܡܐܡܠܝܠܬܒܗ

למאלאלא דַמאמלילתבהַ ואסיא

and preserve the word you have spoken."

ܐܠܐܝ ܒܗܐܕܘܬܘܢ ܡܐܠܐܠ

הייא בהאדותון מאלאל

The Life spoke blissfully

ܘܐܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ

לעותריא אמריא

to the *uthras* (and) said:

ܠܐܒܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

להאילהַ דַגאברא שאבא

"Praise the strength of the man

ܕܡܝܐ ܒܓܘ ܢܘܪܐ[929]

דַמיא בגו נורא

who cured water through fire

ܠܐܒܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

להאילהַ דַגאברא דַשאבא

Praise the strength of the man,

ܕܢܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܒܕܝܠܗ ܠܐ ܣܥܬ

דַנורא בדילהַ לא הטאת

against whom the fire sinned not.

ܠܐ ܣܥܬ ܒܗ ܢܘܪܐ

נורא לא הטאתאבהַ

The fire did not sin against him!"

---

[929] see above page 74 ܘܐܫܬܐ ܘܐܟܝ ܠܐܟܐܢ ܕܐ ܫܕܐ ܕܐ ܠܟܒܘܬ ܠܐܒܐ "he brings the living flame and casts it into the deep waters".



עותרא בערותהַ באר

The *uthra* shone in its radiance;



עותרא באר בערותהַ

the *uthra* shone in its radiance,



ודירכא לשאלמאניא תראץ

and trod out a path for the perfect ones.



דירכא תראץ לשאלמאניא

A path he trod out for the perfect ones,



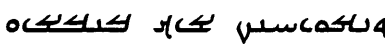
ולשאלמאניא משאלימלון

and he rewarded them fully.



משאלימלון לשאלמאניא

He rewarded the perfect ones,



ודאכאר שומאיהון בית רורביא

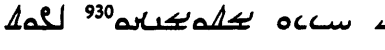
and remembered their names in the House of the Great Ones.





נהא ובסום עותרא

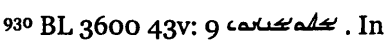
The *uthra* was cheerful and delighted



כדַ הייא בטאבותא לגאט

when the Life thanked him.

---

[930] BL 3600 43v: 9  . In BLO 1236: 43v: 9 .

ܐܘܬܪܐ ܘܫܘܫܦ

האנאנויא ונישקויא

He embraced and kissed the *uthra*

ܐܟܬܪ ܥܡ ܟܘܫܛ ܕܥܒܠܝ ܐܘܬܪܐ

לעותרא וכושטא עהאבלי כַד רורביא

and gave him the *Kušṭa*, like the great (ones).

ܐܘܬܪܐ ܘܟܬܒ ܩܪܝܐ ܐܒܕ

אבאד וכשאר קרויא לעותרא

"He worked and succeeded.' They hailed to the *uthra*.

[931]ܐܒܕܬ ܐܒܕ ܠܟ ܕܟܘܠ

דַכול תיבאד תיכשאר

"In whatever you do you will succeed.

ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܒܕ ܘܬܝܢܨܐܒ ܐܘ

עו תיבאד ותינצאב עותריא

If you create and plant *uthras*,

ܐܟܬܪ ܥܡ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܣܓܘܠܗ ܠܗܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ

כַד עותראך ונאסגולהַ להאך דוכתא

then your *uthras* may go to that place.

(GRR p. 110)

ܐܒܐ ܪܒܐ

אבא רבא

(You are) the great father;

ܠܟ ܥܡ ܚܝܐ ܐܬܪܚܡ ܠܟ

דַהייא נאפשא טאבותאך לגאט

(and) to you Life has proven his immense gratitude."

ܐ

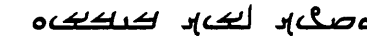
ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܝܬ

---

[931] ܐܒܕܬ ܐܒܕ ܠܟ ܕܟܘܠ not in BL 3600 43v: 11 & BLO 1236: 43v: 11 .

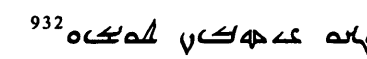
כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* from them,



ואסגית לבית רורביא

and went to the house of the great (ones),



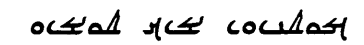
דוכתא דַשרין טאביא

the place where the good ones dwell,



דוכתא דַטאביא האתים שרין

that place in which the good ones dwell.



מאטויאי בית טאביא

When I arrived to the house of the good ones,



סיגדית קודאמאיהון דַרורביא

I bowed down (in worship) before the Great Ones.



מא דַבית דַלרביא עמאר

As I wanted to address the Great One,



הינון רביא אמארליא

the Great One spoke to me.



מא דַבית עשתאיילון

As I wanted to relate to them,



הינון רביא טאבותאי לגאט

---

[932] BL 23601: 44r .

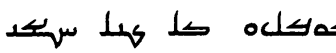
[933] not in BL 23601: 44r.

the Great One thanked me.



רביא לגאט טאבותאי

The Great One thanked me,



ואמארליא על כול צבו

and spoke to me about everything.



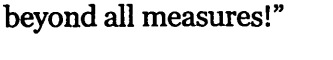
רביא בראבותון קיריון רבא

The Great One, in his majesty, called me: "The great



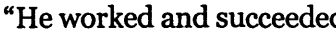
מן ריש בריש

beyond all measures!"



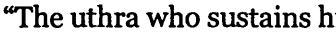
אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא

"He worked and succeeded," hailed the Great One.



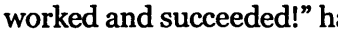
עותרא מקאיאם ראהמה

"The uthra who sustains his friends,



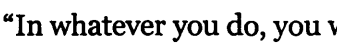
אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא

worked and succeeded!" hailed the Great one.



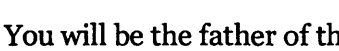
כול דתיבאד תיכשאר

"In whatever you do, you will succeed.



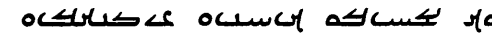
אבא תיהויא דעותריא

You will be the father of the *uthras*,



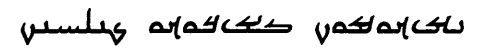
ומזאויד זואדיא לראהמה

who provides his friends with provisions.



אנאת בהירא תיהויא דַעותריא

You are the chosen one of the *uthras*,



אמיתאקאן עבידאתא כולהון

and makes all works right.

[934] 

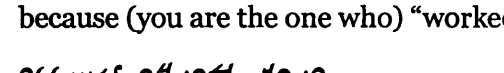
תיתאקאן עבידאתא

You make all works right,



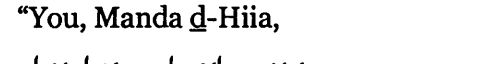
אמינטול דַאבאד וכשאר

because (you are the one who) "worked and succeeded."



אנאת מאנדא דַהייא

"You, Manda d̲-Hiia,



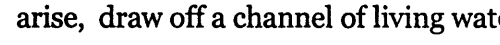
עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the valour and well-prepared *Uthra*,



קום נגוד ניגדא דַמיא הייא

arise, draw off a channel of living water



ואויל להאך אלמא

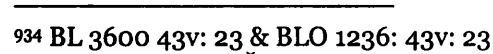
and lead it into that world.

[935] 

קרילון לתלאתא עותריא

Summon the three *uthras*,

---

[934] BL 3600 43v: 23 & BLO 1236: 43v: 23  .

[935] They are: Hibil, Šitil & Anoš.

ܕܓܝܢܙܐ ܕܗܝܝܐ ܡܝܙܕܐܗܪܝܐ

דַגינזא דַהייא מיזדאהריא

who shall care for the treasure of the Life.

ܡܝܙܕܐܗܪܝܐ ܒܓܝܢܙܐ ܕܗܝܝܐ

מיזדאהריא בגינזא דַהייא

They shall care for the treasure of Life,

ܕܡܢ ܗܐܟܐ ܡܝܬܝܢܣܝܒ

דַמן האכא מיתינסיב

which is taken from here.

ܢܐܣܒܝܠܗ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܬܡܝܡܝܐ

נאסבילה עותריא תמימיא

Imprudent *uthras* take it,

ܘܡܐܘܠܝܠܗ ܠܗܐܟ ܐܠܡܐ

ומאולילה להאך אלמא

and bring it into that world.

ܡܣܐܟܟܝܠܗ ܒܝܣܝܐܢܐ

מסאככילה ביסיאנא

They put it in filth

[936]ܘܡܐܠܒܝܫܝܠܗ ܥܨܒܐ ܒܣܐܪ

ומאלבישילה עצבא בסאר

and clothe it in the colour(s) of the flesh.

ܡܣܐܟܟܝܠܗ ܒܝܣܝܐܢܐ

מסאככילה ביסיאנא

They put it in the filth,

ܘܡܐܠܒܝܫܝܠܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܒܐܛܠܐ

ומאלבישילה לבושא באטלא

and clothe it with a perishable garment.

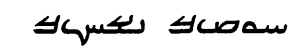
ܕܡܢ ܗܐܟܐ ܡܝܬܝܢܣܝܒ

---

[936] In BL 23600 44r: 2 there is ܥܨܒܐ

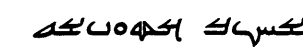
לבושא באטלא מאלבישילה

With a perishable garment they clothe it



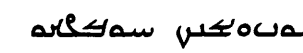
ומשאויבה האסיר ובציר

and produce in it defect and blunder.



האסיר ובציר משאויבה

Defect and blunder they produce in it,



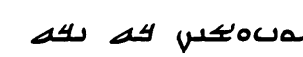
והאויאבון הארגתא

and distortion afflicts them.



הארגתא האויאבון

Distortion afflicts them,



והאויאבון דה ודה

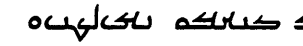
and ensue in them all and sundry."

(GRR p. 111)



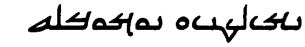
האיזאך תריץ תיניאנא

Then the Second (Life) straightened up,



וקאם עותרא ומילכויא

and the *Uthra* rose up and held counsel.



עותריא קאם ומילכויא ואמארלה

His *uthras* stood and gave him advice, and spoke to him (to the Second Life):

ܐܟܠܐ ܐܟܟܟܐ [937]ܐܠܡܟܣܐ

אהאבאלאן ניקריא אלמא

"Grant us to call forth a world,

ܐܘܐܪܩܐ ܓܐܠܒܐܩܐ

ונשאוילאך שכינאתא

and establish *škinas* for you,

ܐܟܟܟܘܐ ܓܐܠܓ ܝܢܝܪܙ

דַהינון דילאך ניתיקריא

which will be declared as yours!"

ܐܠܟܣܐ ܐܟܙܙ ܐܓ ܢܟܢ ܐܟܟܐ ܢܟܢ

ומן נהורהַ ומן מא דַהייא עהאבלהַ

and his light and some of that which the Life gave him.

ܐܐ ܢܓ ܢܟܣܐܠܢ

עהאבלון מן זיוהַ

He gave them some of his radiance

ܐܟܠܐ ܐܟܟܟܓ [938]ܓܐܪ

ונגאד מיקריא אלמא

and ordered(?) them to call forth a world.

ܓܢܨܐ ܐܘܐܪܩ ܐܪܟ ܓܐܟ

קאם בנהַ תיניאנא ואסגון

The sons of the Second (Life) arose, set forth

ܓܩܐ ܣܐܓ ܐܘܐܠ ܐܣܣ

ונהות לאתאר השוך

and descended towards the Place of Darkness.

ܐܣܣܟ [939]ܐܠܣܐܘܐܪ ܐܣ

קיריויא לפתאהיל עותרא

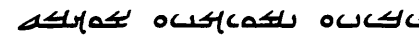
They called forth Ptahil-Uthra

---

[937] BL 23599 46r: 18 ܐܠܟܣ. BL 23600 44r : 8, L 23601 44r: 22 & BLO 1236: 44r: 8 ܐܠܟܣ

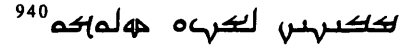
[938] *ngad* PE. Pf. NGD "to draw (forth or out), stretch out, extend etc. for *pqad* (idiom) (MD, p. 288). נגד to flow, pull, draw, guide (DJPA, p. 340).

[939] Ptahil the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world (See above § 2.3.6).



קיריויא וקאימויא באתרה

They called him forth and set him in his place.



קרונון לבניא שלאמא

They called the sons-of- perfection



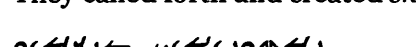
ותראצונון על כורסיאון

and set them on their thrones.



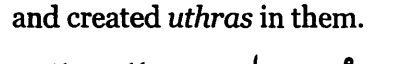
קרון ושאוין שכינאתא

They called forth and created *škinas,*



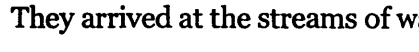
ומשאויבון עותריא

and created *uthras* in them.



אסגון על האפיקיא מיא

They arrived at the streams of water



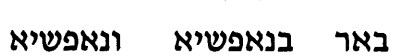
ואדיק היזיויא לאתאר השוך

and looked intently at the Place of Darkness.



בהאק זיוא באר בנאפשיא ונאפשיא

Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself and became arrogant,



---

[940] Šum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai: the four beings of perfection who come towards sincere and believing people and take them out of bonds (See CP, p. 87).

[941] בהאק זיוא *bhaq-ziwa* name of a light spirit. He is created by the Second (Life) and he is identified with Abathur. His other name is "the Father of the *Uthras*" (See above §2. 2.5).

כַּד רוּרביא לגאט נאפשיא

and conducted himself like the great ones.

ܐ ܟܕ ܪܘܪܒܝܐ ܠܓܐܛ ܢܐܦܫܝܐ

לגאט כַּד רוּרביא

He conducted like the great ones,

ܠܓܐܛ ܟܕ ܪܘܪܒܝܐ ܘܫܝܒܩܗ ܠܫܘܡܐ ܕַܐܒܘܝܐ ܩܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ

ושיבקה לשומא דַּאבויא קרא ואמאר

and abandoned the name that his father called him by. And he spoke:

ܐ ܐܢܐ ܕַܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܒܐ ܐ

אבא דַּעותריא אנא

"I am the father of the *uthras*,

ܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܕַܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܐ

אנא הו אבא דַּעותריא

the father of the *uthras* am I,

ܐ ܕַܫܐܘܝܬ ܫܟܝܢܐܬܐ ܠܥܘܬܪܝܐ

דַּשאוית שכינאתא לעותריא

who made *škinas* for the *uthras*."

ܐ ܥܬܗܐܫܐܒ ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܬܐܗܡܝܐ

עתהאשאב על מיא תאהמיא

He pondered over the deep waters

ܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܕַܥܩܪܝܐ ܐܠܡܐ

ואמאר דַּעקריא אלמא

and said: "I shall call forth a world!"

[942] ܠܐܥܬܝܡܠܝܟ

ולאעתימליך

He took no advice

ܐ ܠܐܥܕܐ ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܬܐܗܡܝܐ

ולאעדא על מיא תאהמיא

---

[942] BL 23600 44r : 20 & BLO 1236: 44r: 22 ܠܐܥܬܝܡܠܝܟ.

and did not perceive the deep waters.

ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܝܩܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ

על מיא תאהמיא לא עדא

He did not perceive the deep waters

ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܕܐܟܠܬܐ ܥܠ

ולאעדא על עשאתא עכילתא

and he did not perceive the devouring flame,

ܕܠܐ ܙܝܘ ܠܗ

דַלאהואבה צאותא

which has no splendour.

ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܕܥܬܪܝܐ ܡܫܬܡܠܝ

ולאעתימליך אבא דַעותריא

The father of the uthras took no advice

ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܕ

ולאעהאבלון אדיאוריא

and he offered them (the *uthras*) no support.

ܐ

ܩܪܐ ܠܦܬܗܝܠ ܥܬܪܐ

קרא לפתאהיל עותרא

He called Ptahil-Uthra,

ܘܢܫܩܗ ܟܕ ܪܒܐ ܗܢܐ

האנאה ונישקה כד רורביא

embraced him, and kissed him like a great one.

ܫܡܗܬܐ ܠܗ ܐܣܝܩܠܗ

אסיקלה שומהאתא

He bestowed names on him,

ܫܡܗܬ 944ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ [943]ܕܥܠܡܐ

---

[943] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 ܕܥܠܡܐ. BL 23599 46v: 10 & BL 23601 44v: 10 ܕܥܠܡ.

[944] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ.

דַכסעיא ומנאטרא באתראיין

which are concealed and guarded in their place.

אסיקלהַ גאברעיל שליהא

He gave him the name "Gabriel, the messenger,"

וקרא ופאקדא ואמארלהַ

He summoned him, gave command and spoke to him:

קום אסגיא הות לתית דוכתא

"Arise, go, descend to the lower place,

דַליכא שכינאתא וליכא אלמא

where there are no *škinas* nor worlds.

(GRR p. 112)

קריא ושאויא אלמא לנאפשאך

Call forth and make a world for yourself,

אכואת בניא שלאמא דַהזית

just like the sons of perfection, whom you saw.

עביד ותאקין אלמא

Set up and establish a world,

עביד אלמא לנאפשאך

establish a world for yourself,

---

[945] BL 23600 44r : 26 & BLO 1236: 44r: 26 .

ושאויבה עותריא

and make uthras in it.

ܘܫܐܘܝܒܗ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ

אבא דעותריא בראבותה

The father of the uthras, in his arrogance,

ܐܒܐ ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܒܪܐܒܘܬܗ

לא מארלה על האמבאגותא

said to him nothing about the hostility,

ܠܐ ܡܐܪܠܗ ܥܠ ܗܐܡܒܐܓܘܬܐ

ולאזארזה ולאפרישה

and he neither armed him nor instructed him.

ܘܠܐܙܐܪܙܗ ܘܠܐܦܪܝܫܗ

ו

קאם פתאהיל עותרא ואסגיא

Ptahil-Uthra rose up, set forth

ܩܐܡ ܦܬܐܗܝܠ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܘܐܣܓܝܐ

ונהות לאתיתאיון דשכינאתא

and descended below the *škinas*,

ܘܢܚܘܬ ܠܐܬܝܬܐܝܘܢ ܕܫܟܝܢܐܬܐ

דוכתא דלעכא אלמא

to the place where there is no world.

ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܠܥܟܐ ܐܠܡܐ

קאם בכינאתא סיאנא

He stepped in the lump of filth

ܩܐܡ ܒܟܝܢܐܬܐ ܣܝܐܢܐ

וקאמבון במיא תאהמיא

and waded in the deep water.

ܘܩܐܡܒܘܢ ܒܡܝܐ ܬܐܗܡܝܐ

---

946 ܕܠܥ in the other copies.

אמאר במימרהַ

He spoke with his voice,

כַּד עשאתא האיתא שנאת

as the living flame (in him) changed.

כַּד שנאת[947] עשאתא האיתא

When the living flame (in him) changed

אתינטיט בליבהַ ואמאר

he was troubled in his heart and said:

כַּד אנא בר רביא אנא

"Since I am the son of the Great One,

עשאתא האיתא אלמא שנאת

why has the living flame (in me) changed?"

כַּד האיזין אמאר פתאהיל עותרא

When Ptahil-Uthra spoke thus,

הע רוהא מיהאילא

She, Rūha, strengthened.

מיהאילא הע רוהא

Strengthened was she, Rūha,

[948] [949]

---

[947] in the other copies (when the Great One changed the Living Flame (in him ?).

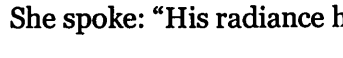
ונאפשא רבותא נסאבתה

and she herself became arrogant.



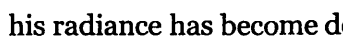
עמראת דשנא זיוה

She spoke: "His radiance has changed,



והואבה בזיוא האסיר ובאציר

his radiance has become deficient and imperfect."



קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She arose, destroyed her property,



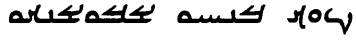
ועתלאבשאת בתותבא נאפשא

and clothed herself in a flowing dress.



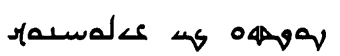
אשניאת רוהא בראבותא

Rūha removed her majesty,



וליגטאת נאפשא כד דלאהואת

and conducted herself as she was not.



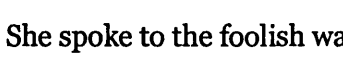
אמראלה לקאראבתאנא סאכלא

She spoke to the foolish warrior (the King of Darkness),



דלאהאש ולאפראש אמראלה

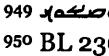
who has no sense or understanding. She spoke to him:



---

948  in BL 23601 44v: 23.

949  in BL 23600 44v : 8 & BLO 1236: 44v: 8. In BL 23601 44v: 23.

950 BL 23601 45r: 2  .

קום הזיא דַבצאר זיוא דַגאברא נוכראיא

"Arise and behold how the radiance of the strange man has diminished,

קום שכוב לואת עמאך

קום שכוב לואת עמאך

"Arise and sleep with your mother,

ועשתריא מן מאספוטיתא דַעסתארתבה

and you will be released from the chain which binds you,

דַאביא מן כולא אלמא

which is thicker than the whole world."

כד האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked one heard this,

עתנאהאזבון בגירמה

he rattled his bones.

שכיב לואת רוהא

He slept with Rūha,

ושבא דמו קאבלאת מן האד צבו

and she conceived seven forms from the one intercourse.

ושובא יומיא האמבלאת

And (after) seven days she was in labour

ועדאלתינון לשיטיא

and gave birth to the follies,

[951]

ועדאלתינון לשיביאהיא

She gave birth to the Seven (Planets),

(GRR p. 113)

דשובא דמו מינאיהון נפאק

from which seven figures originated.

כד זאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכה

when she caught sight of them, her heart fell down from its support,

ואמרא

and she said:

[952]

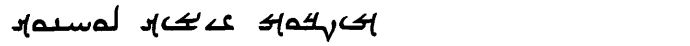
עמרית ולאעתמארליא

"I spoke and am not spoken to.

---

[951] Lidzbarski translates the word: "planets", presumably from *šaba aḫia*, "seven brothers" (MII n. 5 p. 254). The Planets are, indeed considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotions are harmful to the soul, and faults committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the *maṭarata*, realms equivalent to purgatories (Drower, *The Coronation of Great Šišlam*, 1962: xvi). The planetary deities survived among Mandaeans as forces governing the days of the week. (Budge, 1939: 380) The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid, e. g. in the unpublished text (DC 18) "Zrazta ḏ-Šuba Šibiahia" or The Protection of the Seven Planets. We read of the evil designs in the marriage ceremony of the *Great Šišlam*: "I laughed at the planets, (and) at what they planned and did. I dwelt amongst the Seven (planets) but they laid no hand upon me. For the Elect that loved the Life there shall be good things. Woe to the planets that scheme wickedness against my Chosen Ones" (Drower, *Šarh ḏ-Qabin*, 1950: 63. Also, Yamauchi, 1967: 32). As for demonizing the planets, Zaehner writes: "The stars proper followed their regular courses and so reflected the divine order: the planets, however, followed eccentric courses and for this reason could not be fitted into that order: hence they must be diabolical" (Zaehner, 1955: 152).

[952] in BL 23601: 45r.



מינדאם דַבית לאהואת

The thing I wished for did not become true,



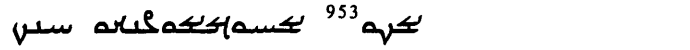
דַהאד לגאברַה לאדאמיא

that no one resembles the other."



כַד האזא עמראת רוהא

When Rūha spoke in this way,



בנא בהאמבאגותא הון

her sons became hostile.



הון בהאמבאגותא וכפארבַה באבוהון

They became hostile and denied their father.



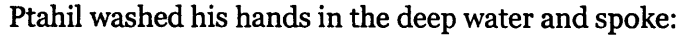
ליכא דַליתלַה סאכא

There is nothing without an end.



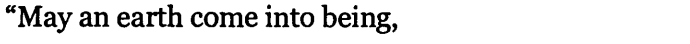
פתאהיל עדַה משא במיא תאהמיא ואמאר

Ptahil washed his hands in the deep water and spoke:



תיהויא ארקא

"May an earth come into being,



כַד דַהואת בית רורביא

---

953 not in BL 23601: 45r.

like it did in the House of the Great Ones."

ܟܕ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܛܡܐܫ ܟܕ

כַד דַטמאש עדהַ

When he immersed his hands

ܗܘܐ ܡܣܘܬܐ ܗܘ[954] ܗܘܐ

האד מסותא הואת

a solidity was formed.

ܡܣܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ

הואת האד מסותא

A solidity was formed

ܗܘ ܕܡܥܝܐ ܘܡܪܐܗܛܐ ܟܕ ܠܐܡܣܐܬ

דַרמעיא ומראהטא כַד לאמסאת

which was thrown down and ran about, as though there was no matter.

ܟܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ[955] ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ

כַד דַלא הואת ולאמסאת ארקא

When no earth came into being and was solidified,

ܟܕ ܠܒܐ ܒܦܠܓܬܐ ܩܐܡ

ליבהַ בפלוגתא קאם

his heart was torn with discord.

ܟܕ ܠܒܐ ܟܕ ܒܦܠܓܬܐ ܩܐܡ

כַד ליבהַ קאם בפלוגתא

When his heart was torn with discord,

ܗܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܬܢܐܬ ܥܗܐܝܠܐܬ

הע רוהא תנאת עהאילאת

Rūha, again became stron

ܘܐܡܪܐ ܥ[956]ܩܘܡ ܥܦܘܣ ܡܐܠܐܝ

ואמרא עקום עפוס מאלאי

---

954 ܗܘܐ BL 23601: 45r.

955 ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܐ not in BL 23599 47r: 17 & BL 23601 45r: 18.

956 ܥܩܘܡ BL 23601: 45r.

and spoke: "I will rise and destroy my property,

ועזאל לואת מאלכא דַאלמא

and depart to the King of the World."

✠

מן ריש קאמאת[957]

She arose at once,

פאסאת מאלא ועתלאבשאת בתותבא

destroyed her property and put on a dress

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

she got up and destroyed her property

ועזלאת לבורא אמרא

and went to the monster and spoke to him:

קום בורא רבא

"Rise! great monster,

קום הזיא דַאלמא כולה דילאך הו

rise, behold the whole world is yours!

שימית דַעשתביק באיתא

I heard that the House was deserted

וכולהון גיטרה מישתרין

---

[957] in BL 23600 44v : 30 & BL 23601 45r.

and all its knots are loosed."

ܟ

ܟܕ ܗܢܐ ܫܡܥ ܒܝܫܐ

כַּד האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked heard this,

ܥܠܝܐ ܠܒܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܐܚܕ ܗܘ

עהאיל ליבהַ האד תרין

his heart became twice as strong

ܟܕ ܥܬܗܝܐ[958] ܠܒܗ ܟܕ

כַּד עתהאיל ליבהַ

When his heart became strong

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܬܟ ܐܡܐ

אמראלהַ דַּאהאתאך אמא

She spoke to him: "I am your sister

ܐܢ ܒܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܟܒܝܬ ܠܘܬܟ

עו אנאת שאכבית לואתאי

If you sleep with me,

ܥܠܝܐ ܬܗܘ ܐܝܠܟ ܗܘ ܬܪܝܢ

האילאך האויא האד תרין

your strength will be twice as much."

ܐܢ ܒܬ ܫܟܒ ܟܕ

כַּד שכיב לואתא

When he slept with her,

ܡܢ ܗܘ ܨܒܘ

מן האד צבו

by the one intercourse,

ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܬܚܬܡ ܥܠܝܐ

---

[958] ܥܬܗܝܐ in BL 23599 47r: 24 & BL 23601 45r: 25.

תריסאר בוריא קאבלאת מינהַ

she conceived twelve monsters by him.

ܐܟܫܕ ܫܡܟܫܐ ܙܒܫܠܐ ܥܡ ܐܝܟ

מינהַ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא

She conceived by him twelve monsters,

ܫܘܩܝܐܟܫ ܠܐ ܡܝܬܐܟܫܪ ܕܗܐܕ

דַהאד מינאיהון לא מיתאכשאר

but none of which was worthy.

ܠܬܫܡ ܐܠܡܥܠܐ ܐܟܫ ܫܡܟܫܠ

לתריסאר יומיא הלאצאלא לרוהא

Pains overtook Rūha for twelve days. [959]

(GRR p. 114)

ܙܐܠܫ ܙܐܠܟܫܙܡ

האמבלאת וידלאת

She was in labour and gave birth

ܐܙܐܡܟܫ ܫܡܟܫܐ

תריסאר דמאואתא

to twelve forms,

ܐܟܙܡܐ ܐܟܫܟܫ ܠܡ[960]ܫܘ

דַהדא להאברהַ לאדאמיא

none of which resembled any other another.

ܐܫܡܫ ܠܫܡܐ

לאדאמין להדאדיא

The did not resemble one another,

[961]ܐܟܩܡ ܐܫܡܫܘ ܐܩܩܐܟܘ

דַבכאנפיא דַהדאדיא ראכביא

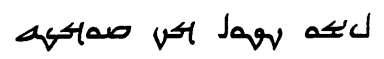
and each one rose on the other's lap.

---

[959] For these acts of insect see above § 2.3.9.1

[960] ܫܘ in the other manuscripts.

[961] Cf. one demon is described as biting another in an old Babylonian text (cited by Yamauchi, 1967: 53).

 [962]

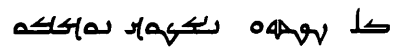
כַּד הזאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכַה

When she caught sight of them, her heart fell from its support.[963]



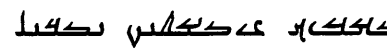
ליבא מן סאמכַה נפאל

Her heart fell from its support,



והאולילאת על נפשא ובכאת ואמרא

and she howled and wept onto herself, and she said:



עמרית דַעבטון ועדול

"I said I shall be pregnant and bear forth,



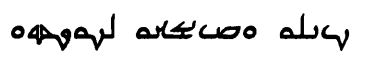
וניהון כַּד מארַה דַאלמא

and they will resemble the Lord of the World.



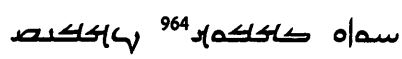
ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית

I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive,



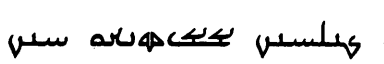
ונילא אסיבתא לנאפשא

and I have brought disgrace on myself."

 [964]

כַּד האזא עמראת נימרוס

When Namrus spoke thus,



---

[962] not in BL 23601: 4v.

[963] Cf. Hubur giving birth to giant serpents. "Mother Hubur, who forms everything, supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless ... with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread. She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. . . " The Babylon Epic of Creation *Enûma elish* translation by: W. G. Lambert, edited by M. Geller & M. Schipper, *Imagining Creation*, Brill (2007), p. 7: 19-24.

[964] BL 23600 45r: 17 BLO 1236: 45r: 16  .

תריסאר כולהון בבישותא הון

the Twelve became wickedly infuriated

כולהון הון בבישותא

The Twelve became wickedly infuriated,

[965]

וכאפריא באבוהון

and denied their father.

ליכא דַסאכא ליתלה

There is nothing without an end.

פתאהיל בהאשאבתא קאם

Ptahil stood engrossed in thought,

פתאהיל קאם בהאשאבתא ואמאר

engrossed in thought Ptahil stood and cried:

דַעשיבקה לאלמא

"I shall leave the world!"

כד האזא שאמאת רוהא

When Rūha heard this,

[966] [967]

ליבא תראצלא על סאמכה ואמרא

her heart righted itself on its support and she said:

---

[965] In BL 23600 45r : 17 & BLO 1236: 45r: 16 there is

[966] In BL 23600 45r : 21 there is

[967] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BL 23601 45v: 15 there is

ܐܢܟܪܝܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܕܝܬܐ[968] ܕܠܝܬܠܗ

נוכראיא האמבאגא דַליתלהַ

"The alien has no hostility,

ונוכראיא לא מישתאלאטבהַ באלמא

and the alien has no (more) power in the world."

ܐ

ܩܐܡܐܬ ܦܐܣܐܬ ܡܐܠܐ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property

ܘܥܬܠܐܒܫܐܬ ܒܬܘܬܒܐ

ועתלאבשאת בתותבא

and put on her dress

ܩܐܡܐܬ ܦܐܣܐܬ ܡܐܠܐ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property.

ܘܥܙܠܐܬ ܠܟܝܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܐܪ ܫܘܟ

ועזלאת לכיאנא דַאתאר השוך

and went to the source of the Place of Darkness.

ܐܡܪܐܠܗ ܠܩܐܪܐܒܬܐܢܐ ܫܐܦܠܐ

אמראלהַ לקאראבתאנא שאפלא

She spoke to the degraded warrior,

ܕܥܕܝܐ ܘܠܝܓܪܝܐ ܠܝܬܠܗ

דַעדיא וליגריא ליתלהַ

who is without hands or feet:

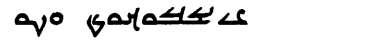
ܩܘܡ ܐܒ ܘܗܙܝܐ

קום אב והזיא

---

[968] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BLO 1236: 45r: 20 ܠܝܬܠܗ is found without ܕ

“Rise, my father, and behold!



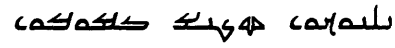
דַבראתאך אנא

I am your daughter!



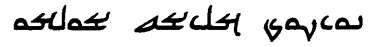
האנאנאן ונושקאן

Fondle me and kiss me,



ולואתאי שכוב עקאראי

and sleep with me,



ואינאך מליבה באלמא

and gaze your fill at the world.



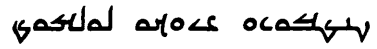
אינאך באלמא מליבה

Gaze your fill at the world,



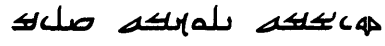
והזיא דַכולה דילאך הו

and behold (the world) which fully belongs to you.



נוכראיא דַאתא לאלמאך

The Stranger who came to your world



שאמאר שיבקה ולאתרה סליק

set out urgently and ascended to his place.



עו תישכוב לואתאי

If you sleep with me



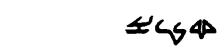
אינאך האויא כַד האוין

your eyes will remain as they are!"



כַד האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked heard this



האנאנא ונישקא ולואתא שכיב

he embraced her, kissed her and slept with her.



נאשקא ושכיב לואתא

He kissed her and slept with her,



וקאבלאת מינה ביטנא הדא

and she became pregnant from him.

(GRR p. 115)



קיבלאת מינה האמשא זידאניא

She conceived five wrathful ones by him,



דַהינון הדאדיא מכאדביא

who disavowed each other.



הינון מכאדביא הדאדיא

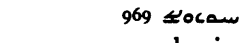
They disavowed each other,



וצבו דַלאהאיאב ולאשאפקיר אבדיא

and practiced anything which was unseemly and awful.

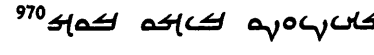
---

969  PE. Pt. *HUB* (always with la) *lahaiab ulašapir* "unseemly and not good"; la is to emphasize *haiib* which itself is negative (MD p. 134).



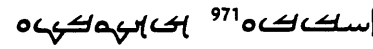
ביומא הדא פאקא פיקא ובראק בירקא

On the first day (the sky) split opened and there was lightning.



בתיניאנא רימא ראם

On the second day it thundered.



בתלאתא יומא בזהריריא מיתכארכיא

On the third day it was surrounded by flames.



בארבא יומא גוהא עתיגנא בתיריא השוך

On the fourth day an earthquake shook the portals of the Darkness.



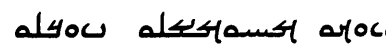
בהאמשא יומא צראף ודאויא ליבה

On the fifth day her heart was afflicted and mournful.



הבאל ריואנא

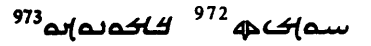
Her mind was convulsed,



הבילתא דהאיאתא מהאמבלא ויאדלא

as a convulsed labouring woman confined in childbed.





האמבלאת ויאדלאת האמיש דמאואתא

She was in labour and gave birth to five forms,



---

970 In , BL 23600 45v: 8 . In BL 23599 48r: 4 & BLO 1236: 45v: 8

971 *zahriria* pl. *zahrira*: flashes, flames (found only in plural) (MD. p. 157).

972 *hamiš* feminine *hamša* "five" (MD p. 124).

973 *hamiš dmauata* the five planets excluding the sun and the moon.

דַהדא להאברה לאדאמיא

but none of which resembled any other.

ܠܐܕܐܡܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܗܐܒܪܗ

לאדאמיא הדא להאברה

None resembled any other,

ובידהדאדיא מיתיקליא

and they are inflamed against one another.

ڈהאויא מינאיהון הוסראנא

Through them imperfection originated,

דַלאמציבה כולהון אלמיא

with which all the worlds are unable to cope.

כד הזאתינון

When she beheld them,

עדא לרישא שאדיא

she hit her head with her hand(s)

עדא שאדיא לרישא

She hit her head with her hand(s)

וגדאלא ברישא סאתרא

and tore out the tress(es) on her head.

---

974 In BL 23600 45v : 13 & BLO 1236: 45v: 13: ڈهسڈ.

975 In BL 23599 48r: 9 & BL 23601 46r: 9 ڤهڤكس.

גדאלא סאתרא ברישא

She tore out the tress(es) on her head.

[976]

ואילאת לליבא הארגתא ואמרא

and she brought distortion to her heart, and she spoke:

ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית

"I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive.

[977]

וניוליא אסיבתה לנאפשאי

I brought disgrace upon myself.

[978] [979]

לאהזאיתינון ולאעתניהית

I did not see them and I was not relieved.

ועמרית ולאהואת

I spoke and it did not happen.

כולהון הארשאי עודון

All my spells were lost

וכולהון מינילאי עתבאדראן

and all my words were scattered.

למאליא דפאסית מאלאי

Wherefore I destroyed my property,

---

[976] in BL 23601: 46r.

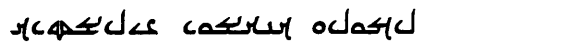
[977] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 1 .

[978] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 13 .

[979] in BL 23601: 46r.

ולמאליא דַליבשית תותבאי

and wherefore I clothed my self with my gown?



לימאליא דַליבשית תותבאי

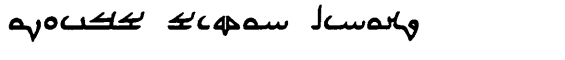
Wherefore I clothed myself with my gown,



דַמנאתא בא באיתא ליתליא

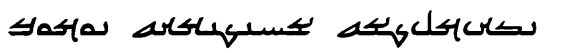
while I have no share of it the House?"





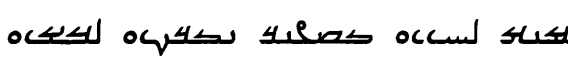
פתאהיל האשיב ברויאנא

Ptahil pondered in his mind



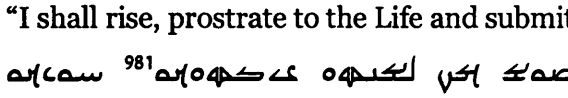
ועתימליכבה בהיכימתה ואמאר

and he conferred with his wisdom, and he spoke:



דַעקום להייא עסגוד ועדניא לרביא

"I shall rise, prostrate to the Life and submit (myself) to the Great (One),



על בית דַעסאב מן לבושא דַעשאתא האיתא

My wish is to get a garment of the Living Flame,



ועהדאר במיא תאהמיא

and wade in turbid water.



במיא תאהמיא עהדאר

In the turbid water I shall wade,

---

[980] In BL 23600 46r : 1 & BLO 1236: 46r: 1

[981] In BL 23600 46r : 3 & BL 23601 46r: 19 there is

(GRR p. 116)

ܘܡܝܢܕܐܡ ܕܗܐܘܝܐ ܥܗܐܘܝܐ

ומינדאם דַהאויא עהאויא

and reveal all that shall take place."

ܒ

ܦܬܗܝܠ ܒܗܘܟܘܡܬܐ ܕܗܐܫܝܒ

פתאהיל בהוכומתא דַהאשיב

When Ptahil, by the wisdom he devised,

ܟܕ ܕܣܓܝܕ[982] ܘܫܒܐ ܠܗܝܝܐ

כד דַסגיד ושבא להייא

worshiped and praised the Life.

ܢܣܝܒ ܡܢ ܠܒܘܫ ܥܫܐܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

נסיב מן לבוש עשאתא האיתא

He received the garment of the Living Flame

[983]ܘܗܕܐܪܒܘܢ ܒܡܝܐ ܬܐܗܡܝܐ

והדארבון במיא תאהמיא

and waded in the turbid water.

ܟܕ ܥܡܝܙܓܐܬ ܥܫܐܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

כד עמיזגאת עשאתא האיתא

When the Living Flame mingled

ܒܓܐܘܝܗܘܢ ܒܡܝܐ ܬܐܗܡܝܐ

בגאויהון במיא תאהמיא

with the turbid water,

ܒܪܝܗܐ ܕܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܥܫܐܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܢܝܡܐܪ

בריהא דַלבושא דַעשאתא האיתא נימאר

at the scent of the garment of the Living Flame

ܩܠ ܗܘܐ[984] ܕܩܪܝܢ ܒܗ[985]

---

[982] In BL 23599 48r: 22, BL 23600 46r : 6 & BLO 1236: 46r: 6 ܟܕ ܕܣܓܝܕ.
[983] The above six lines not in BLO 1236: 46r.

אפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא סליק

dust ascended from the earth Siniawis.

[986]ܐܪܩܐ ܣܝܢܝܐܘܝܣ ܡܢ ܐܦܪܐ ܣܠܝܩ

סליק אקפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא

Dust rose up from the earth Siniawis

ܒܐܬܪ ܢܦܠ

באתאר נפאל

and fell in (every) place.

ܟܠ ܝܡܡܐ ܕܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܡܝܐ

עטמאם כולהון ואמאמיא

All the seas were stopped up

ܝܡܡܐ ܟܠ ܕܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܕܟܘ

ועשתאדכון כומציא כולהון

and all the hollows were leveled.

ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܝܒܫܬܐ

הואת מיאבאשתא

There became dry land,

ܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܬܥܒܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܦܝ ܘܐܬܪܡܝ

ועתמיסיאת מסותא וניפלאת במיא

and a solidification was formed and fell into the water.[987]

[988]ܒܪ ܓܘܕܐ

ודאליא בר גודא

Then a curtain was raised,

ܟܕ ܐܬܪܡܝ ܦܪܟܣܬܐ [989]ܣܠܩ

---

[984] BL 23599 48r: 24 & BL 23601 46r: 25 ܐܪܥܐ.

[985] ܣܝܢܝܐܘܝܣ *siniauis*: underworld; abode of darkness (MD, P. 328).

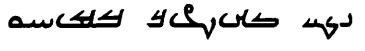
[986] Not in BL 23600 46r : 11 & BLO 1236: 46r: 11.

[987] Cf. Genesis 6-10.

[988] ܒܪ ܓܘܕܐ *br guda* (a popular etym. of Parthian *"bargōd"*, Aram, (MD p. 69), Iraqi پردە *parda* פרגודא "curtain". Also expressed in the Jewish tradition *"Pargod"* is a religious notion borrowed from Middle Persian indicate the separation between the "here" and the "hereafter". This curtain (barrier) can be lifted from time to time (for more details concerning " *pargod*", see Shaked 1994: 5).

וסליק וקאם בילבאב עשומיא

ascended, and was installed in the heart of the heavens.



וכדַ עתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament was spanned out,



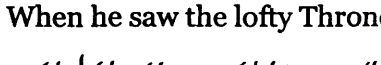
וסגוד ושאבא לגאברא נאצבהַ

(Ptahil) prostrated and praised the Man, his creator.



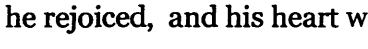
כדַ היזיא לכורסיא ראמא

When he saw the lofty Throne,



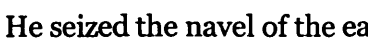
הדא ועתבאסאר בליבהַ

he rejoiced, and his heart was pleased.



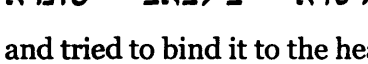
ניסבהַ לשורא דַארקא

He seized the navel of the earth



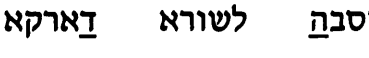
ובא דַניגיטרא בילבאב שומיא

and tried to bind it to the heart of the heavens.



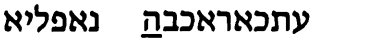
כדַ בא דַנינסבהַ לשורא דַארקא

When he sought to seize the navel of the earth,



עתכראכבהַ נאפליא

the perishable ones (the Planets) surrounded him.



עתכראכבהַ קופאת נכיליא

---

[989] not in BL 23599 48v: 6, BL 23600 46r : 13, BL 23601 46v: 5 & BLO 1236: 46r: 13 .
[990] in BL 23600 46r : 15 & BLO 1236: 46r: 15.

The basket (or: bundle) of the crafty ones surrounded him,

ܕܡܠܥܝܐ ܒܗܘܟܘܡܬܐ

דַמלעיא בהוכומתא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

ܗܝ ܡܠܝܐ ܒܒܘܠܬܐ

מליאבַה ביהראר

It is full with delusion,

[991]ܗܝ ܡܠܝܐ ܗܘܟܘܡܬܐ ܕܟܘܠܬ

דַכולַה הוכומתא תליא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

[992]ܗܝ ܡܠܝܐ ܒܒܘܠܬܐ ܟܕ ܡܐ ܟ

כַד מליא בַה ביהראר

How full it is with delusion,

ܒܣܝܠܬ ܢܘܩܒܐܬܐ ܕܗܐܪܫܝܐ

בסילאת נוקבאתא דַהארשיא

a woman's market basket of witchcraft (spells).

ܫܒܥ ܟܘܟܒܝ ܫܘܒܐ ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

עתכאראכבַה שובא שיביאהיא

The Seven Planets encircled him

[993]ܘܬܪܐܣܐܪ ܡܫܬܘܨܝܐ ܒܐܛܠܝܐ

ותראסאר מאשתוציא באטליא

and the twelve good-for-nought monsters.

[994]ܐܛܪܦܢ ܘܠܘܦܢ ܥܬܟܐܪܐܟܒܗ

עתכאראכבַה אטרפאן ולופאן

Aṭrapan and Lupan surrounded him,

ܬܪܝܢ ܣܝܢܓܝܐܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܡܐ

תרין סינגיאניא דַאלמא

---

[991] ܗܝ not In BL 23599 48v: 11 & BL 23601 46v.
[992] Not in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.
[993] ܘܬܪܐܣܐܪ in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.
[994] ܐܛܪܦܢ ܘܠܘܦܢ *aṭarpan ulupan* : two demons (MD, p. 13).

the two viceroys of the world.

[995]

עורפעיל ומארפעיל

Urp'il and Marp'il,

דַעל רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

who have dominion over wrath in the Tibil.

[996]

עתכאראכבה בתאליא רבא

They encircled the great dragon,

וסליק וקאם בקאמבתא

ascended, and stood in the vault.

כד ניסבה לשורא דַארקא

When he grasped the navel of the earth

[997]

ואסקה עסרה בקומבתא

he raised it and tied it to the vault.

(GRR p. 117)

כד ניסבה לפארקסא ראמא דַרקיהא

When he held the high circumference of the firmament,

וסליק עסרא בכורסיא

ascended and tied it to his throne.

---

995 *'urpail & 'urp(a)iil*: two light spirits (MD, p. 346).

996 *talia* fictive dragon causing eclipse Ginza talia rba: the great dragon, *kbašth ltalia rba d-alahia* "I subdued the great dragon of the gods" (MD p. 479).

997 is not found in BLO 1236: 46r: 26.

ܫܒܥܝܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ

עסתאר שיביאהיא

The Seven (planets) concealed themselves,

ܒܩܘܡܒܬܐ ܘܣܠܝܩ ܩܐܡܒܗ

בקומבתא וסליק קאמבה

climbed and took their place in the vault.

ܬܪܥܣܝܐ ܩܐܡ

קאם מאשתוציא

The (Twelve) monsters took up position,

ܒܦܐܪܢܘܢ[998] ܘܥܬܝܟܦܐܪ

ועתיכפאר בפארנון

and were fettered by their bonds.

ܐܡܫܐ ܡܕܐܒܪܐܢܘܢ ܥܠܐܝ ܥܠܐܝ

האמשא מדאבראנון עלאי עלאי

As for their Five leaders, they (cried): "Alas, alas!"

ܕ

ܕܡܢܐܣܒܝܐ ܦܬܐܗܝܠ ܒܗܘܟܘܡܬܗ

דמנאסביא פתאהיל בהוכומתה

Ptahil put up with his wisdom,

ܝܐܬܝܒ ܘܡܫܐܝܝܠܘܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܘܗܕܐ

יאתיב ומשאיילון להדא והדא

he sat down and questioned them one by one:

ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐܝܬܘܢ ܒܝܫܝܐ

מנא הואיתון בישיא

"Where do you come from, you wicked,

ܕܕܡܘܬܐܝܘܢ[999] ܠܐܗܘܐܬ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘ

---

[998] ܦܪܢܝܐ *parunia = pirunia*: sneers, fetters, bonds. (MD p. 372) See also *parunia* (MD, p. 363).

[999] In BL 23600 46v : 5 & BLO 1236: 46v: 5 there is ܒܫ.

whose forms are not from the father's house?"

כַּד האזא אמארלון

When he spoke thus to them,

רוהא אנאתַה מן תית

Rūha answered him from below:

[1000] אתין ניהוילאך ראבאיגאר

"We come to be your humble servants,

ונקום ניהוילאך אדיאורא

we step forward and would be your helpers.

אדיאורא ניהוילאך בכול דַאבדית

We would be your helpers in everything you do,

ונאניהאך על כורסיאך

and leave you in peace on your throne.

על כורסיאך נאניהאך

On your throne we would leave you in peace,

וניקום וניתאקנַה לאלמא

we would rise and restore order in the world.

ניהויא טאביא ונישתאלאמבאך מן ריש בריש

[1000] or : servant (see MD, p. 418).

We would be praiseworthy and entirely surrender to you."

ܕ

ܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܡܪܠܗ ܫܒܝܐܗܝܐ

כַד האזא אמארלה שאבא שיביאהיא

When the Seven had thus spoken to him,

ܐܡܪܠܘܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܬܘܢ

אמארלון דַבנאי אנאתון

He said to them: "You are my sons!

ܐܢ ܬܝܒܕܘܢ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܛܐܒܘܬܐ

עו תיבדון עבידאתא דַטאבותא

If you perform good deeds,

ܐܢܐ ܠܓܝܛܝܢܟܘܢ[1001] ܒܠܝܓܘܛܬܝ

אנא לגיטינכון בליגוטתאי

then I will reckon you on my side!"

ܕ

ܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܦܬܗܝܠ

כַד האזא אמאר פתאהיל

When Ptahil spoke thus,

ܒܝܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܢܣܝܒ

באיתא מינה עתינסיב

his house was taken away from him.

ܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܢܣܝܒ ܒܝܬܐ

מינה באיתא עתינסיב

His house was taken away from him,

ܘܐܫܬܐܠܐܛܒܗ ܢܦܠܝܐ

ועשתאלאטבה נאפליא

and the feeble ones gained authority over it,

[1001] BL 23600 46v: 11 & BLO 1236: 46v: 11 ܐܢܐ ܠܓܝܛܝܢܟܘܢ .



כַּד מן קודאם דַּעתינגיד רקיהא

as before the firmament was spanned out



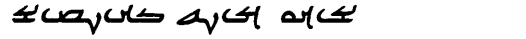
ושאראת ארקא במסותא

and the earth settled in solidification.



כַּד האזא אמאר פתאהיל

When Ptahil spoke thus,



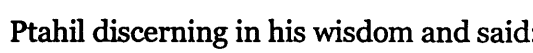
באיתא מינַה עתינסיב

His house was taken away from him.



פתאהיל בהוכמתא באיין ואמאר

Ptahil discerning in his wisdom and said:



עקום עסוק לבית אב

“I will rise (and) descend to the House of my Father



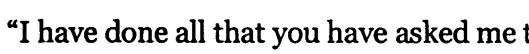
דַּעמארלַה לאב ראמא

to tell my Lofty Father:



כול דַּאמארתליא עבדית

“I have done all that you have asked me to do.”



כַּד האיזין אמאר פתאהיל

When Ptahil spoke thus,

ܐܡܪܐ ܒܗܘܟܘܡܬܐ ܒܐܝܢܐ ܪܘܗܐ[1002]

ואמארא בהוכומתא באינא רוהא

Rūha perceived in her wisdom and said:

ܐܣܬܝܪܐܬܐ ܘܥܣܬܘܪܝܐ ܗܘܡܪܝܐ ܥܩܪܝܐ

"I shall call forth *hmurtas* and *astartes*,

ܕܢܝܗܘܢ ܒܢܐܝ ܒܐܠܡܐ

דניהון בנאי באלמא

who shall be my children in the world.

ܢܝܩܡܘܢ ܘܣܐܗܪܝܗܘܢ ܒܗܐܡܒܐܓܘܬܐ ܘܣܒܝܐܗܝܐ

ניקמון וסאהראיהון בהאמבאגותא שיביאהיא

The planets and their demons shall rise up in defiance.

(GRR p. 118)

ܢܝܩܡܘܢ ܘܕܘܝܘܝܐ ܡܐܫܬܘܨܝܐ

ניקמון ודויויא מאשתוציא

The monsters and *dewis* shall rise in defiance,

ܘܟܘܠܗ ܐܠܡܐ ܢܦܪܝܐ[1005]

וכולה אלמא נאפריא

and we shall disorganize the whole world.

ܢܝܩܡܘܢ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ ܣܝܢܓܝܐܢܝܐ ܗܐܡܫܐ

ניקמון דבאיתא סינגיאניא האמשא

The five potentates of the house shall rise up

ܢܝܒܕܘܢ ܘܩܪܐܒܐ

ניבדון וקראבא

and wage war."

[1002] not in BL 23601: 47r.

[1003] BL 23599 49r: 12, BL 23600 46v: 18, BL 23601 47r: 1 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ܐܡܪ.

[1004] BL 23600 46v: 18 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ܒܗܘܟܘܡܬܐ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ

[1005] PRA (פרע) to destroy, to disarrange. *kulh alma naprh* "we will disorganize the whole world." (MD, p. 378) in the other manuscripts ܘܟܘܠܗ.

כַּד הזינון פתאהיל

When Ptahil beheld them,

עתיאהארבה בהוכומתה

he was enlightened by his wisdom.

מלא בגורמאיזיא

He clenched his fist

ושקאף על תארבאציא האדיא ואמאר

and beat upon the forecourt of his chest and said:

מן קודאם דַעזאל לבית אבו

"Before I depart to the father's house,

שאוילה מארא להאזין אלמא

I shall appoint a master over this world.

לאיאדיא מארה דַבאיתא

The masters of the House do not realize,

דַעתלה מארא להאזין אלמא

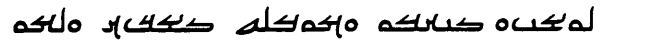
that this world has a master."

כַּד אסגיא לבית הייא

[1006] The Planets.

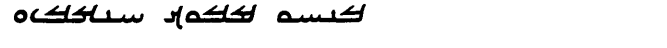
[1007] Adam is the new master of the world.

When he went to the house of the Life,



לאבויא עותרא אמארלה עבדית אלמא

the *uthra* said to his Father: "I created the world!"



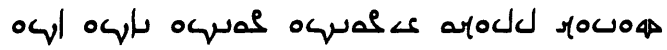
רוהא קראת הומריא

The Rūha created *hmurtas*



וקראת עסתיראתא כד מסאתראן

and created *astartes* that are veiled.



שאויאת ליליאתא דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

She created *liliths* in various kinds and colours.



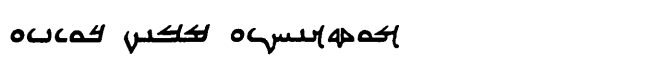
שיביאהיא קרון סאהריא

The planets created demons,



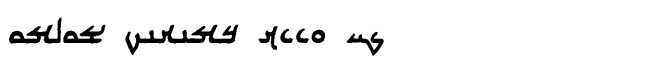
דנאפשיא וסאכא ליתלון

powerful and great in number.



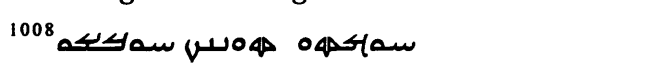
מאשתוציא קרון דאיויא

The obscene beasts created the *dewis*,



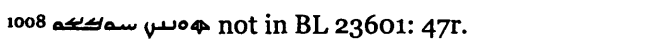
כד איית דמותון באלמא

according to their images in the world.

 [1008]

האמשא שאוון הארבא

The five (planets) who created the sword,

[1008]  not in BL 23601: 47r.



דַעל רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

were given authority over the wrath in the Tibil.



עית דַדמותאיהון בארקא תיהויא

Some of their forms exist on land,



ועית במיא תאהמיא

and some in the murky waters.



אנין בשומיא ניקום

“We want to stay in Heavens



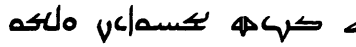
וקיריאתאן בכולה אלמא

and (yet), our creatures dominate the whole world.



ארקא דילאן תיהויא

Earth will become ours,



ולאנישתאלאטבה עניש בהאזין אלמא

and nobody else has the authority over this world.



באיתא דַאבוהאן בנאלאן

The house that our father had built for us,



אנין נידארבה מן אבאתרה

we shall dwell in it after him,



אמינטול אנין מארא דַבאיתא

because we are the masters of the House.

ܪܘܚܐ ܬܝܗܘܝܠܗ ܡܐܪܬܐ ܒܐܬܪܐܢ

רוחא תיהוילה מארתא באתראן

Rūha will be the Mistress of our place.

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܡܝܢܝܐܢ

רוחא דקודשא מינאיאן

Rūha d-Qudša "The Holy Ghost" is with us,

ܘܐܢܝܢ ܢܝܗܘܝܒܗ ܒܢܐܛܪܝܐ

ואנין ניהויבה בנאטריא

and we shall be her guardians.

ܘܢܩܡܘܢ ܬܪܝܣܐܪ ܟܘܟܒܝܐ

ניקמון תריסאר כוכביא

The twelve stars will rise

ܘܢܦܐܠܓܘܢ ܘܝܘܡܝܐ ܘܐܗܪܝܐ

ונאפאלגון יומיא ויאהריא

and divide the days and the months.

ܘܫܐܝܝܐ ܘܫܘܫܝܐ ܢܝܦܐܠܓܘܢ

ושאייא ושושיא ניפאלגון

They must divide the hours and the *šušias*,

ܘܢܦܐܠܓܘܢ ܢܐܓܝܐ[1009] ܘܦܘܗܪܝܐ

ונאפאלגון נאגיא ופוהריא

and divide the minutes and the seconds.

ܟܕ ܐܝܙܝܢ ܢܝܒܐܕ

כד האיזין ניבאד

When we accomplish this,

ܟܘܠܗ ܒܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܐܢ ܢܝܗܘܝܐ

כולה באיתא דילאן ניהויא

the whole House will belong to us."

[1009] ܢܐܓܝܐ *nagia* found only in plural: a small unit of time (MD p. 281. See also MG, p. 64).

(GRR p. 119)



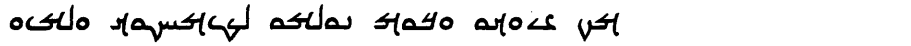
מן דַעתמיסיאת ארקא ואלמא דַאדאם אתא

Since the earth became condensed and until Adam came (into being),



תלאתמא ושאתין אלפיא שניא האויא

there had been three hundred and sixty thousand years.



מן דַאתא אדאם ואלמא לכימצאת אלמיא

Since Adam came (into being) and until the end of the worlds,



ארבימא ותמאנאן אלפיא שניא האויא

there will be four hundred and eighty thousand years.



שובא שיביאהיא פאליג שניא כדַ הדאדיא

The Seven planets distributed the years into even parts,



האד מן האברהַ לאבצאר

that none fell short of his companion.



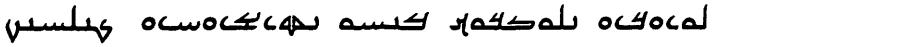
רוהא מאסטאניתא פאליגתהַ לבולהַ אלמא

Rūha, the seductress, divided the whole world,



תריסאר בניא דַהאסירתא האד מן האברהַ לאבצאר

(that) none of the twelve sons of the faulty fell short of his companion.



לאיאדיא ולאעדאת רוהא ושיביאהיא כולהון

Rūha and all the planets did not perceive and did not realize



דַעתלהַ מארא לאלמא ועתלהַ אדיאוריא

that the world has a lord and his helpers are beside him.



על דַקאימיא ומתהאשביא ומשאוילהַ מארא לאלמיא

Nevertheless, they stand there forging plans in order to create a lord for the world.



לאכא דַליתלהַ סאכא

There is nothing without an end.



עהדאר פתאהיל לאלמא

Ptahil returned to the world.



אתא ומא דַאבויא אמארלהַ שובא

He came and listened to what his father said to him.



ואמאר עתית דַענצאב ברא רהימא

Then he spoke, "I came here in order to create a beloved son,



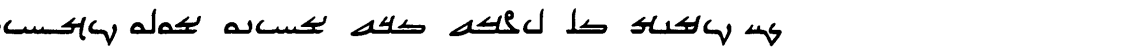
עניצבהַ אעקאיאמהַ

I want to create him and raise him



וניקום ונישאבא לרורביא

in order he rises and praises the Great Ones.



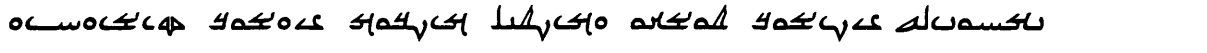
כדַ ניקום על ליגרהַ עדהַ בהיוא באלא נימהיא

When he stands on his feet he will hit the wild beast(s) with his hand.



עדהַ נימהיא בהיוא באלא ובהיוא בירא

With his hand he will hit the wild beasts and the cattle as well.



ומהאוילהַ דַניבאד טאבתא אמינטול מינדאם דַאבאד שיביאהיא

It would do them benefit, because of what the Planets had committed.



פאליג מאלכותא דַהאויא

They (the planets) divided the government (?)[1010]



לפאגריא דַאכליא לכאל היוא בירא ולפירא דַארקא

so the bodies feed on all beasts of the field and on the fruit of the earth,



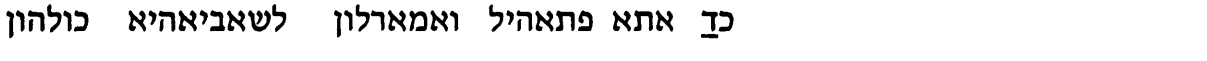
דַכולהון מן פירא מיא הון

which everthing came to being from the water fruits."



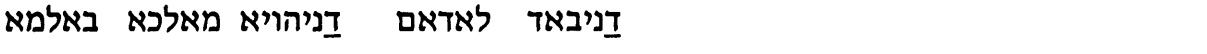
כַד אתא פתאהיל ואמארלון לשאביאהיא כולהון

When Ptahil came and spoke to all the planets:



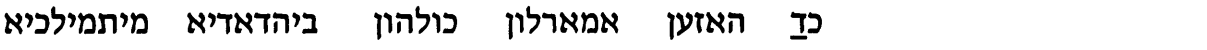
דַניבאד לאדאם דַניהויא מאלכא באלמא

"Let us create Adam that he may be the king of the world!"



כַד האזען אמארלון כולהון ביהדאדיא מיתמילכיא

When he thus spoke to them, they all conferred together:



דַנימארלהַ וניבדהַ לאדאם ולהאוא

"We will tell him: We want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve)



אמינטול דַהו דילאן הו

[1010] Doubtful (see MD, p. 245).

because he belongs to us."

[1011]ܐܡܪܝܠܗ ܢܒܕܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܗܘܐ

אמרילה אתא ניבדה לאדם והאוא

They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve;

(GRR p. 120)

ܪܝܫ ܕܟܘܠܗ ܫܘܪܒܬܐ

ריש דכולה שורבתא

the head of the whole generation."

ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܡܪܠܗ ܫܝܒܝܗܝܐ

כד האיזן אמארלה שיביאהיא

When the Planets thus spoke to him,

ܦܬܗܝܠ ܢܛܝܛ ܒܠܒܗ [1012]ܐܡܪ ܘܐܡܪ

פתאהיל נטיט בלבה ואמאר

Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said:

ܐܢܐ ܒܐܠܗܘܕܐ ܥܒܕܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܗܘܐ ܪܝܫܐ ܕܟܘܠܐ ܫܘܪܒܬܐ ܥܘ

עו אנא באלהודאה עבדה לאדם והאוא רישא דכולא שורבתא

"If I by myself create Adam and Eve the head of the whole generation,

ܐܕܡ ܡܐܗܘ ܕܝܐܕܗ ܡܝܒܐܕܒܗ ܒܐܠܡܐ

אדאם מאהו דיאדה מיבאדבה באלמא

what does Adam know what to do in the world?"

ܕܢܝܡܐܪܠܘܢ ܦܬܗܝܠ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܠܫܐܒܝܗܝܐ ܡܐܠܐܠ

מאלאל פתאהיל עותרא לשאביאהיא דנימארלון

Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the planets and said:

ܐܕܡ ܒܪܝ ܕܝܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܡܐܠܟܐ ܕܐܢܙܝܢ ܐܠܡܐ

אדאם בראי דיליא הו מאלכא דהאזין אלמא

"Adam is my son. He is the king of this world!"

ܐܠܗ ܕܢܝܡܐܪܠܘܢ ܦܬܗܝܠ ܐܘܬܪܐ ܐܡܪ

[1011] ܐܡܪܝܠܗ ܢܒܕܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܢܙܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ not in BL 23600 47v: 4 & BLO 1236: 47v: 3.

[1012] Read: ܐܬܪ *ntiṭ blibh* Ethpe. Pf. NṬṬ: to be afflicted, troubled. (MD, p. 295) ܐܡܪ in the other manuscripts.

מאליל שיביאהיא לפתאהיל דַנימארולהַ עלהַ

(Then) the Planets spoke to Ptahil and said:

אנין על מאהו רהיצינין וקאימינין

"Whom do we trust and rely on,

ומאהו משאלטאנין באלמא

and what is our authority in the world?"

מאליל פתאהיל דַנימארלון

Ptahil answered them and said:

אנאתון מונקא מיהוילהַ

"You shall be his fosterer(s)

ותיפליהונהַ מן ריש בריש

and render him full service."

עבדויא ורומיויא לאדאם

Then they created Adam and laid him down,

ולית֯בהַ נישימתא

but without a *nišimta* (soul) in him.

כדַ עבדויא לאדאם לאמצון

When they created Adam they were unable

דַנירמובהַ נישימתא

to cast the *nišimta* (soul) into him.

קיריויא לאיאר זיקא

They appealed to *Ayar-Ziqa* "the Ether wind"

דַניהאלילינון לגרמה

to hollow out his bones,

לגרמה ניהאלילינון

to hollow out his bones,

וניהויבון מוקרא

and to form marrow in them,

מוקרא ניהויבון

to form marrow in them,

ונאשאר וניקום על ליגרה [1013]

then he might spring up and stand on his feet.

קיריויא לצאותא דַעשאתא האיתא

They summoned the splendour of the Living Flame,

דַמאנהרה ללבושיא

that might illuminate his attire.

מאנהרה ללבושיא

To illuminate his attire,

[1013] or var. *nišuar* Impf. ŠWR: to leap, jump (MD, p. 436).



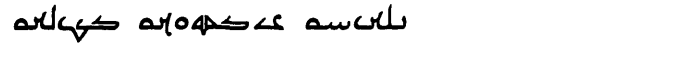
וניטאר וניקום על ליגרה

and make him spring up and stand on his feet.



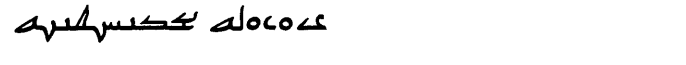
קיריויא להאבלא דַשאבקיא

They sent for the mist of the streams



ולתיהא דַעשאתא עכילתא

and the fumes of the consuming fire,



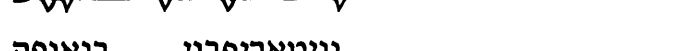
דַאיאלַה בעוצטונַה

to enter his trunk,



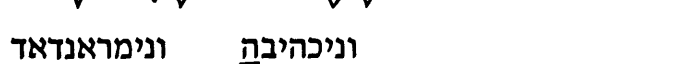
דַנימליא בגורמאיזיא

so he might clench his fist,



וניטאריפבון בגאנפַה

and beat with his arm(s) (wings).



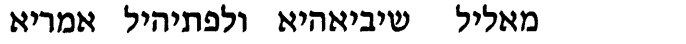
וניכהיבַה וניטראנדאד

That he might grumble and shake himself,



וניטאר וניקום על ליגרה

and springs up and stand on his feet.



מאליל שיביאהיא ולפתיהיל אמריא

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying:

האב נירמיבה מן רוהא

"Allow us to cast into him some of the spirit (*rūha*),

דאיתית עלאך מן בית אב

which you brought with you from the House of your Father."

כולהון אבאד שיביאהיא

All the Planets exerted themselves

ואבאד מארה דאלמא

and the Lord of the world exerted himself.

כד אבאד כולהון

Despite of all their efforts,

(GRR p. 121)

לישכה לאקומה על ליגרי[1014]

they were unable to make him stand on his feet.

פתאהיל בערותה אסגיא

Ptahil set off, in his glory,

סליק לאתאר נהור[1015]

and ascended to the Place of Light.

[1016]

[1014] = only in idiomatic "to be unable". ŠKA (< Aram. שכח) af. to find, discover, aquire, attain (MD, p. 464).

[1015] BL 23600 47v: 27 & BLO 1236: 47v: 27

קאם קודאמה דַאבא דַעתריא

He stood in the presence of the Father of the *uthras*



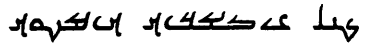
ואמארלה אבויא

His Father spoke to him:



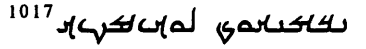
מאהו אבאדת

"What have you accomplished?"



אמארלה כול דַעבדית תיקנאת

He answered him, "Everything I made, I put in order,

[1017] 

דמותאי ודמותאך לאתיקנית

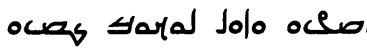
(however), I could not put my counterpart and your counterpart in order."





קאם אבא דַעתריא

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself up



ואסגיא אזאל לאתאר כסיא

and set off and hastened to the secret place.

[1018] 

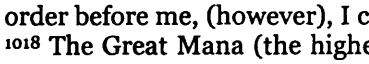
נאסבה למאנא רבא

He fetched the *mana* ,



דַמאנהארלון לקילומיא כולהון

[1016]  *aba d'uthria* "the father of the *uthras*, Bhaq-Ziwa or Abatur (see §2.2.5).

[1017] BL 23600 47v: 29 has:  : "(all) I did was in order before me, (however), I could not put your counterpart in order."

[1018] The Great Mana (the highest being) is not meant in this verse. '*mana*' is the soul matter which fills the bodies and make them alive, therefore, is to be ignored.

which illuminates all corruptible things.

ܐܟܬܝܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܟܠܡܕܡ

מאנהארלה לכיתון פאגריא

It illuminates the physical garments,

ܐܚܝ ܐܚܝܢ ܐܚܝܒܒ ܐܚܝܒܒܪ

דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and colour.

ܐܚܝܒ ܐܒܟܐܠܟܐܠܟ [1019] ܐܝܐ

כאנה בטארטאבונה דאכיא

He wrapped it in his pure turban,

ܠܟܡܟ ܐܟܟܪ ܐܙܡܟܢܩܟ

ובשומהאתא דהייא עהאבלה

by the (secret) names which the Life gave him.

ܐܒܟܐܠܟܐ ܐܚܩܐܚܟ ܟܨܟ

ניסבה ובעאנפיא טארטאבונא

He fetched it by the ends of his turban,

ܟܟܟ ܝܟܡܐܚ ܟܟܡܐ ܐܚܙ

ואתיא יאהבה לפתאהיל ברה

and brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil his son.

ܐܟܟ ܝܟܡܐܚ ܠܟܠܡܟ ܫ

כד עהאבל ה לפתאהיל עתרא

When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra,

ܐܟܢܐܚ ܟܟܟܢ ܐܟܟ

היא קרונון לאדיאוריא

the Life called for the helpers.

ܩܙܐ ܝܙܩ ܝܟܟ ܟܟܟܢ

קרינון להיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

He called for Hibil, Šitl and Anoš,

[1019] Not in BL 23601: 48v.

ܐܬܪܝܐ ܘܠܐܗܐܣܝܪܝܐ ܕܝܐܬܝܪܝܐ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ

the outstanding flawless *uthras*.

ܘܦܩܕܘܢܘܢ ܩܪܘܢܘܢ

He summoned them and commanded them,

ܘܙܗܪܘܢܘܢ ܠܢܝܫܡܬܐ

and warned them about the *nišmata* (soul).

ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܠܘܢ

He said to them: "You, be a guardian over her,

ܘܙܗܪܘܢܘܢ ܠܢܝܫܡܬܐ

and warned them about the *nišmata* (soul).

ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܠܘܢ

He said to them, "You, be a guardian over her,

ܕܠܐܢܝܕܘܢ ܥܠܗ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ

so all the worlds may know nothing about her.

ܠܐܢܝܕܐ ܦܬܗܝܠ ܒܠܝܠܐ[1020]

Let not Pthahil, the muddle-headed, know

ܕܢܝܫܝܡܬܐ ܒܦܐܓܪܐ ܗܐܝܙܝܢ ܢܦܠܐ

how the *nišimta* "soul" falls into the body.

[1020] ܒܠܝܠܐ *blila*: idle, confused, useless, muddle-head, irrational (MD pp. 65-6). Cf. *Sakla* "the prince of darkness" (Stroumsa 1984: 120), Sakla "fool" 'so called because he does not know that there is One higher than he (Churton 2005: 40-1) Sakla is the "the Gnostic Demiurge" (Deutch 1999: 75).

האיזין נאפלא נישימתא בפאגרא

How the soul falls into the body,

והאיזין מאמליבה זמא

and how the blood fills it,

זמא האיזין מאמליבה

how the blood fills it,

והאיזין ניצריבה אגיא

and how the channels (veins) permeate it.

מאולאנא דאדאכאס מאנא

Let the (supporter?) of Adakas-Mana,

הו ניהוילה נאטרא

be her protector.

כד מיתלאבאשבה בזיוא דהייא

When (Adam) is clothed in radiance of the Life,

1021 *Maulānā* "Our Lord." Stroumsa writes: "According to the Kalām-i-Pīr, the Divinity (Maulānā, "Our Lord") manifested itself in each generations of mankind, *Maulānā* appeared under three different names which are, in fact, variations upon Melchizedek's name or title (*melekh šalem*, King of Salem, Gen 14: 18). The people of the first prophet, Adam, were the Sabaeans. They identified Melchizedek with Seth and said that at the resurrection he would appear as a judge and as a revealers of the teachings kept secret during history. Melechizedek appeared again during the generations of Noah and Abraham, i.e. at the time of the flood and of Sodom's punishment" (For the conception of *maulana* in the Isma'lī belief, see Stroumsa 1984: 111).

1022 Adakas-Mana, Adakas-Ziwa = Adam Kasia "the Hidden Adam" the mystic or occult Adam, who completes the unsuccessful creation of Ptahil.

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרהַ

he will spring up and stand on his feet.

כד מאליל בפומא דאכיא

When he speaks with pure mouth,

אנאת אכמאר לדוכתהַ אתיא

you bring him back again to his place.

אכמאר אתיא לדוכתהַ

Bring him back to his place,

ופארהיזיא מן דהַ ודהַ

and protect him against all and sundry.

כאנהַ פתאהיל בטארטאבונהַ דאכיא

Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban,

[1023] ומהאנינבהַ בעוצטלהַ

and enfolded him in his garment (or: : he enfolded him by the body) .

(GRR p. 122)

פאהרא ואזיל עותרא

The uthra flies and goes (down)

וזליא מינהַ אדיאוריא

[1023] BL 23599 51r: 5 & BLO 1236: 48r: 16 we read *'umhanibh̲ b'şţuna'*: "They embraced him by the body" under HNN: *'mhaninbh̲ b'şţla* Gy 102:10 (where Lidzbarski proposed *mkanibh̲*, Ginzā 110 n. 2) he enfolded him in the garment, but where DC 22. 97 has *b'uşţunh* instead of *b'şţla*, hence: "he enfolded him by the body" (MD, p. 150).

and his helpers go (down) with him.



דַאזליא מינהַ גובריא

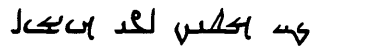
Those who go down with him are the men



דַמפאקדיא על נישנמאתא

who have been set in charge of the souls.





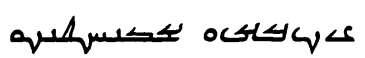
כדַ מטין לגו תיביל

When they reached Tibil,



ולעצטונא דַפאגריא

and the physical trunk



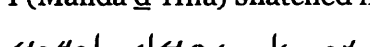
כדַ בא דַנירמיא בעוצטונא

When he (Ptahil) wanted to cast her (the soul) into the trunk,



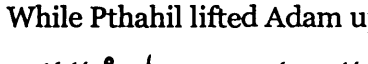
אנא שקאלתהַ מן כאנפהַ

I (Manda d̲-Hiia) snatched her from his pocket.



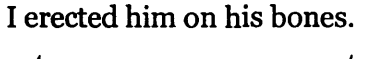
על דַפתאהיל נישקלהַ לאדאם

While Pthahil lifted Adam up,



אנא תריצתינון על גירמהַ

I erected him on his bones.



על דַשאדיא עדהַ עלהַ

While he laid his hands on him,



אנא ארהאתה בריהא דרורביא

I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones.



פאגרא בטון מוקרא

The body became full of living substance (marrow),



וזיוא דהייא מאמלילבה

and the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him.



כד מאמלילבה זיוא דהייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him,



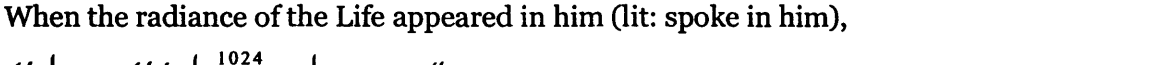
אינא פתא בעוצטונא דפאגריא

he opened his eyes in the bodily trunk.



כד מאמלילבה זיוא דהייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared in him (lit: spoke in him),



אדאכאס זיוא לאתרה סליק

Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.



אסיקתה לאתרה לבית רורביא

I led him upwards to the House to the Great Ones,



[1024] Adakas-Ziwa or Adam-Kasia, the light Adam. His wife Anana-Ziwa, also called Hawa-Kasia, begets three pairs of of twins, male and female and the triad *uthras* Hibil, Šitl and Anoš. Lady Drower explains: " Adakas is the metaphysical Adam, the wholly spiritual humanity. He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal" (SA, p. 36 f.).

דוכתא דַרביא יאתביא

to the place where the Great One is seated (or: enthroned).

[1025]

שאלימתה לגאנזיבריא

I handed him over to the treasurers,

לעותריא דַלגיטיא יארדניא

the *uthras* who hold the Jordans.

היא לגיט טאבטתא דַעותר

The Life thanked the *uthra*

דַאתיא לנישימתא

who had brought the *nišimta* (soul).

קרון ופאקדון רביא ואמרילא

The Great One summoned me and commanded me and said to me:

[1026]

אזיל קרילה קאלא שאניא

"Descend, bestow on him with a sublime call,

קאלא שאניא קרילה

a sublime call bestow on him,

דַבישיא לאנידון עלה על נישימתא

[1025] *ganzibra*: treasurer, the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) These celestial *ganzibras* represent the heavenly priests who are responsible for purifying spiritual entities. The Mandaeans modeled their eartly rituals, especially baptism, according to the celestial ones.

[1026] *qala* "call". The call is the revelation of the divinity bestowed on the *bhiri zidqa* "the righteous elect", while Ptahil "the demiurge" and his followers remain in ignorance towards the nature and the presence of *mana* the particle of light *nišimta* "soul".

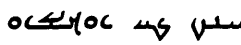
so the evil ones may learn nothing about the *nišimta* (soul)."





עתית ואשכיתינון

I came and found



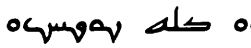
לבישיא כולהון כַד יאתביא

all the wicked, as they sit there.



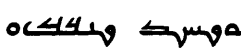
כַד יאתביא בישיא

As the wicked ones sit there,



ופודריא עלי ניאציא

and discharge witchcraft over it (over the soul).[1030]



עלַה נאפצע פודריא

Over it they discharge witchcraft,



ובאייא דַניפאלגונַה בישיא במנא מנא

and the wicked ones seek to divide it (the soul) into single pieces.



אנא דַהזאיתינון

When I saw them,



עתיאהריבַה באלבושאי דאכיא

[1027]  not in BL 23599 51r: 20 & BL 23601 49r: 6.

[1028]  is not in BL 23599 51r: 21.

[1029]  not fin BL 23601 49r: 7.

[1030] This motif is common in many Gnostic imagery where the soul descends to earth and the hostile planets seek to endow it with their own evil nature in order to ensnare it. (Jonas, 1958: 156ff.)

I glowed in my pure attire.

ܐܬܐܗܙܝܠܘܢ ܠܐܠܡܝܐ ܒܙܝܘܐ ܢܦܫܐ

עתאהזילון לאלמיא בזיוא נאפשא

I appeared to the worlds in the great radiance,

ܕܐܒܐܗܐܬܝ ܥܗܐܒܠܝܐ

דַאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father had given me.

ܠܦܬܝܗܝܠ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܐܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ

עתאהזילה לפתיהיל עותרא

I appeared to Ptahil-Uthra,

ܘܒܟܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܝܐ ܗܘ ܣܓܝܠ[1031]

האוליל על נאפשיא ובכא

who (then) wailed and wept onto himself.

ܗܘ ܣܓܝܠ ܘܒܟܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܝܐ

האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא

He wailed and wept onto himself,

ܥܠ ܡܢܕܐܡ ܕܐܒܕ

על מינדאם דַאבאד

because of the what he had done.

ܐܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ ܠܪܘܚܐ ܡܐܣܛܢܝܬܐ[1032]

עתאהזילה לרוחא מאסטאניתא

I appeared to Rūha, the seductress,

(GRR p. 123)

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ

דַמאסטיא כולהון אלמיא

who seduces all the worlds,

ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܒܗ

[1031] BL 23599 51r: 24 & BL 23601 49r: 10 ܗܘ ܥܠ . BL 23600 48v: 9 & BLO 1236: 48v: 9 ܥܠܗ

[1032] read ܡܐܣܛܢܝܬܐ *masṭianita* "seductress" or "tempter" (MD, p. 249). See above § 2.4.8.1.

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ܐܘܝܬܐ ܪܐܙܐ ܪܒܐ

דמיתכאבשיבה מארדיא

by which the rebels are crushed down.

ܕܡܝܬܟܐܒܫܝܒܗ ܡܐܪܕܝܐ

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ܐܘܝܬܐ ܪܐܙܐ ܪܒܐ

סאימין ולאהאזיא

(yet) she remained blind and did not see.

ܣܐܝܡܝܢ ܘܠܐܗܐܙܝܐ

האויתא תיניאנא

I revealed to her the second (secret).

ܐܘܝܬܐ ܬܝܢܝܐܢܐ

זאמתא זמאמא דגומלא

I held her back with a camel bridle.

ܙܐܡܬܐ ܙܡܐܡܐ ܕܓܘܡܠܐ

והאויתא תליתאיא ראזא

I revealed to her the third mystery,

ܘܗܐܘܝܬܐ ܬܠܝܬܐܝܐ ܪܐܙܐ

ופלאגלא ברישא פלוגתא

and I split her head open. [1033]

ܘܦܠܐܓܠܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ ܦܠܘܓܬܐ

כד היזיון כולהון האיקיא ומיתהאיביא

When they saw me, they all became afraid and declared themselves guilty.

[1033] Lupierie blieves that the term "mystery" is "emission or manifestation of power and of knowledge." He assumes that this '"knowledge" is able to blind, subjectand finally destroy its adversaries.' The head represents the seat of prophecy and that the splitting of Rūha's head should mean that the knowledge is designated to the elect and cannot be contained inside the mind of the evil (Lupieri, 2002: 190 n. 17).

ܫܘܒܐ ܢܐܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ ܒܗܐܝܒܝܐ ܠܓܝܛ

שובא נאפשאיהון בהאיבא לגיט

The Seven (planets) declared themselves guilty.

ܢܐܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ ܠܓܝܛ[1034] ܒܗܐܝܒܝܐ

נאפשאיהון לגיט בהאיבא

They declared themselves guilty,

ܘܥܣܬܝܗܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܢܦܐܝܗܘܢ ܢܦܐܠ

ועסתיהאף על אנפאיהון נפאל

and were hurled down and fell on their faces.

ܥܣܬܐܗܐܦ ܘܢܡܐܠ ܥܠ ܐܢܦܐܝܗܘܢ

עסתאהאף ונמאל על אנפאיהון

They were hurled down and fell on their faces,

ܘܥܝܕܐܝܘܢ ܥܠ ܐܢܣܐܝܘܢ ܫܩܐܠ

ועידאיון על אנסאיון שקאל

and raised their hands to their faces.

ܘܐܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܐܢ ܗܛܝܢ ܗܛܐܝܢܝܢ

ואמריא מראן הטין הטאינין

They spoke, "Our Lord! We have greatly sinned,

ܕܟܘܠ ܬܝܫܒܘܩܠܐܢ ܗܛܝܢ ܕ̈ܗ

ד̈כול ת̈ישבוקלאן דַהטין

forgive us all our sins."

ܟ

ܟܕ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܫܝܐ ܟ

כד̈ האזא אמאר בישיא

When the wicked ones spoke thus,

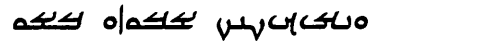
ܦܠܐܓܝܠܘܢ ܦܠܘܓܬܐ ܒܦܐܠܝܢܓܘܢ[1035]

פלאגילון פלוגתא בפאלינגון

[1034] Read: ܠܓܝܛ

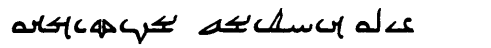
[1035] ܦܠܐܓܐ *planga* (Gr. φάλαγξ) phalanx, host, army (MD p. 373).

I made a breach in their phalanx,



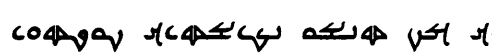
אומיתינון בראזא רבא

I adjured them by the Great Mystery,



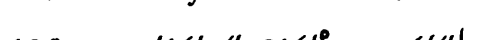
בנישימתא דַלאתיהטיבהַ

not to harm the *nišimta*.



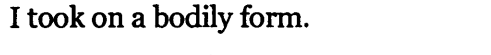
עתיכסית מן שובא וכיבשית נאפשאי

I concealed myself before the Seven and restrained myself.



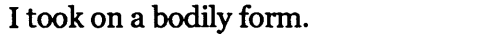
לדמו פאגריא דאמית נאפשאי

I took on a bodily form.



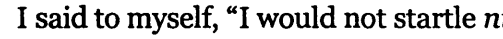
שאוית לדמו פאגריא

I took on a bodily form.



עמרית דַלאעיאהיקא לנישימתא

I said to myself, "I would not startle *nišimta* the soul.



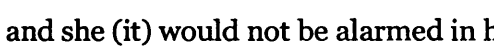
לנישימתא לאעיאהקא

I would not frighten *nišimta* the soul,



ולאתיהוק באלבושא

and she (it) would not be alarmed in her (its) garment (body)."



בדמו פאגריא עדאמילא

I assumed bodily for its sake,

ויאתבית לואתא בצאותא

and I sat beside it with the splendour.

[1037]ܘܝܬܒ ܥܡܗ ܒܙܝܘܐ [1036]ܠܐ ܫܪܝܬ

ושרית עלא צאותא דַמאנא רבא

And I sprinkled over him (Adam) the splendour of the Great Mana,

ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܗܘ

דַהו מינהַ עתינציב

from which he was created.

ܘܐܝܬܝܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܐܠܝܦܬܐ

דַיאתבית לואתא ואליפתא

I sat beside him and instructed him

ܡܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܦܩܕܘܢ

מא דַהייא פאקדון

what the Life commanded me.

ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܩܠܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ

דראשילא בקאלא שאניא

I instructed with a calm voice,

ܕܡܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܫܢܝ ܘܢܗܝܪ

דַשאנאי ונאהור מן כולהון אלמיא

which was more sublime and luminous than all the worlds.

ܕܪܝܫܐ ܠܗ ܒܩܠܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ

דראשילא בקאלא ניהא

I instructed him with a sublime voice,

ܘܐܝܪܬܗ ܡܢ ܫܢܬܐ ܠܠܒܐ

ואיארתהַ ללִיבא מן שינתא

and awakened his heart from his sleep.

ܘܥܫܬܐܝܠܐ ܒܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܬܪܝܐ

[1036] From now on the subject is Adam and not the soul. ܠܐ BL 23599 51v: 17 & BLO 1236: 48v: 24.

[1037] This verse not in BL 23600 48v: 21 & BLO 1236: 48v: 22.

I spoke to him in the speech of the *uthras*,

[1038]ܐܘܬܪܐ ܠܫܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ

ואליפתא הוכומתאי

and taught him my wisdom.

ܠܝ ܡܢ ܚܟܡܬܝ ܐܠܦܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ

מן הוכומתאי אליפתא ואמארילא

From my wisdom I taught him, and I told him,

ܕܢܩܘܡ ܘܢܣܓܘܕ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܠܪܘܪܒܝܐ

דַניקום וניסגוד ונישאבא לרורביא

that he should arise, prostrate himself and praise the Great Ones.

ܕܢܫܒܚ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܣܓܝܐ

נישבא לאתרא סאגיא

That he should praise the exalted place,

(GRR P. 124)

ܕܝܬܒ ܐܝܬܝ ܛܒܐ

דוכתא דַטאביא יאתביא

the place where the good ones reside,

ܘܢ ܐܕܟܣ ܙܝܘܐ ܠܐܕܟܣ

נישאבא לאדאכאס זיוא

That he should praise Adakas-Ziwa,

ܐܒܐ ܕܡܝܢܗ ܗܘ ܠܐܒܐ

לאבא דַמינה הו

the Father from whom he came into being.

ܐ

ܐܬܝܬܝ ܘܐܠܦܬܗ ܟܕ

כד יאתבית ואליפתה

As I sat there and instructed him,

ܕܢܩܘܡ ܘܢܣܓܘܕ ܘܢܫܒܚ ܠܡܠܟܐ

[1038] ܐܘܬܪܐ BL 23600: 48v, BL 23601: 49v and BLO 1236: 48v.

קאם סגיד ושאבא לרורביא

he rose up, prostrated himself and praised the Great Ones.

שאבא לאבויא אדכאס זיוא

He praised his Father Adakas-Ziwa,

למאנא דמינה עתינציב

the Mana, from whom he was created (or: planted).

[1039] כד סגיד ושאבא לאבויא עותרא

When he prostrated himself and praised his father, the *uthra*,

[1040] עתאהזילה מן אתאר כאסיא

he appeared to him out of the concealed place.

כד היזיא לאבויא עותרא

When he beheld his father, the *uthra*,

עתימליא בתושביהתא מן ריש בריש

he became full of praise, beyond all measures.

דראש בקאלא רבא

He chanted (hymns) with a loud voice

ולשיביאהיא מקארקילון

and overturned the planets.

[1039] not in BL 23601: 49v.

[1040] This verse not in BL 23600 49r: 3 & BLO 1236: 49r: 3.

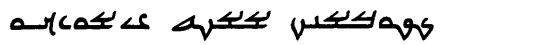
מקארקילון לשיביאהיא

He overturned the planets



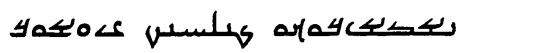
ומקארקילַה למארַה דַאלמא

and overturned the Lord of the world.



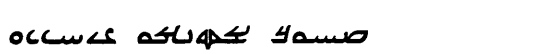
כפארבון בבנַה דַבאיתא

He disowned the sons of the House (or: this world)



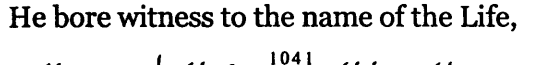
ובעבידאתא כולהון דַאבאד

and the all the deeds that they have done.



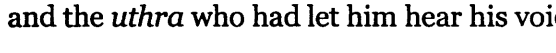
סהאד בשומא דַהייא

He bore witness to the name of the Life,



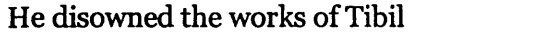
ובעותרא דַקאלַה אשמַה

and the *uthra* who had let him hear his voice.



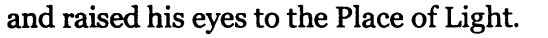
כפארבון בעבידאתא דַתיביל

He disowned the works of Tibil



ואזבאר אינַה לאתאר נהור

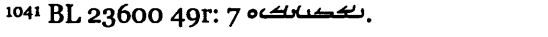
and raised his eyes to the Place of Light.



כַד האזא אבאד

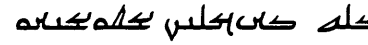
When he did this,



[1041] BL 23600 49r: 7  .

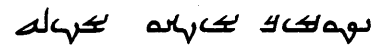
עותרא דַהייא בטאבו עתימלון עלַה

the *uthra* of Life became full of kindness towards him.



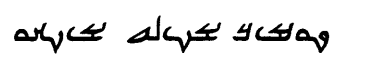
עלַה עתימלון בטאבותא

He became full of kindness towards him,



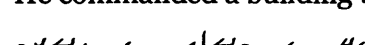
ופאקיד בינתא בנילַה

and commanded a building to be erected for him.



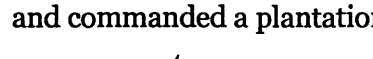
פאקיד בנילַה בינתא

He commanded a building to be erected for him,



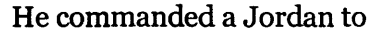
ופאקיד ניצאבלַה ניצובתא

and commanded a plantation to be planted for him.



פאקיד ניצאבלַה ירדנא

He commanded a Jordan to be hewed for him.



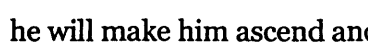
כדַ שאלימלַה כילַה

When his measure is full,



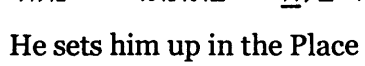
מאסיק תאריצלַה בבינתַה

he will make him ascend and sets him up in his building.



תאריצלַה באתאר נהור

He sets him up in the Place of Light



לואת אבויא אדאכאס זיוא

beside his father Adakas-Ziwa,

[1042]

ומשאוילה _ עותרא באתאר נהור

and make him an *uthra* in the Place of Light.

כד האזא שאמאת רוהא ושיביאהיא

When Rūha and the Planets heard this,

כולהון במאליא יאתביא

they all sat in lamentation.

כולהון יאתביא במאליא

They all sat in lamentation

וקאימיא ומיתהאשביא ואמרע

and commenced forging (evil) plans, and said:

דנישאביא לאדאם ונינסבה

"We shall entrap Adam and catch him.

נישאביא ונינסבה לאדאם

We shall entrap Adam and catch him,

[1043]

וניכאתרה לואתאן באלמא

and detain him with us in the world!"

ואמריא

and they said (to each other):

[1042] The last two verses are not found in BL 23600 49r: 12 & BLO 1236: 49r: 12.

[1043] not in BL 23600 49r: 16 & BLO 1236: 49r: 16.

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ

כַּד הו נימאליל בקאלא ניהא

"When he speaks with a mild voice,

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܀[1044]

אנהין נימאליל בקאלא מארדא

we shall speak with the voice of rebellion.

(GRR p. 125)

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ

כַּד הו ניכול ונישתיא

When he eats and drinks,

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܀

אנהין נישיביא לאלמא

we shall entrap the world.

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ

אנין לאלמא נישיביא

We shall entrap the world,

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ

ונישאויבַה דמו דמו

and create all kinds of forms in it.

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ

הינגיא נילגוטבַה

We shall take snares,

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ

וניהבוקבַה היבקא באלמא

and shall practice embracing in the world.

ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ ܐ ܕ ܗ

היבקא באלמא ניהבוקבַה

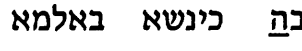
Embracing shall we practice in the world,

[1044] Read ܐ ܕ ܗ ܀ *anin*: we. (MD, p. 27)



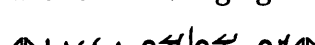
וניכנושבה כינשא באלמא

and found a congregation in the world.



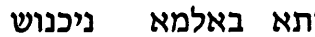
כנישתא באלמא ניכנוש

A congregation we will found in the world,



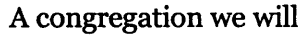
וניישיביא ונאילה לכנישתאן

and entrap him (Adam) and lead (or: install) him into our congregation.



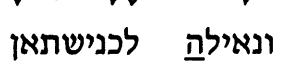
לכנישתאן נאילה וניישיביא

We shall entrap him and install him in our congregation,



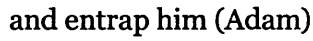
וניישיביא לליבה וניניסבה

we shall catch and pack his heart,



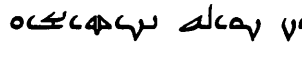
וניישיביא בשיפוריא ואמבוביא

and entrap him with horns and flutes



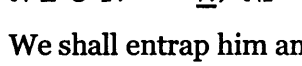
הו מינאן לאניפסיק

(so that) he will not break away from us.



נישאבה שאבא דמאואתא

We will produce seven forms (or: counterparts) in it (in the world)

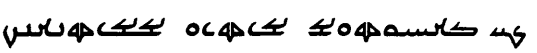


דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

[1045] Cf.  "They shall not hear the words of the alien Man who has come here. .... Since we have created Adam, he shall come and obey us and our father Ptahil" (GRR 291 : 3).

of every kind and variety."





כַד עתהאשאב בישיא בבישותון

As the wicked considered in wickedness,



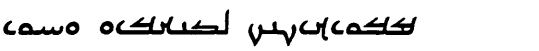
אנא עתהאשבית על טאבתא

I considered in goodness,



דַעבאד טאבותא באלמא

to donate goodness in the world.



קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי

I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,



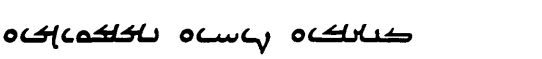
גובריא דַמקאימיא שורבתא

the men who confirm the generation.



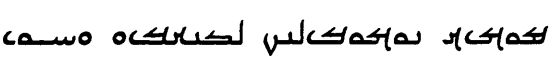
קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי

I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,



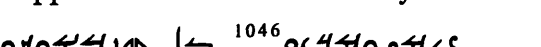
עותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא

the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.



קאמית ואמארילון לעותריא אהאי

I approached and addressed my brothers the *uthras*,



דַמפאקדיא על שורבאתא

[1046]  is not found in BL 23600 49v: 2 & BLO 1236: 49v: 2.

who received the command over the generation:

ܠ ܗ̇ ܕ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈

עא יאדיתון עותריא אהאי

"Do you not know *uthras*, my brothers,

ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܫ̈ ܝ̈ ܒ̈ ܝ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܫ̈ ܝ̈ ܒ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈

דַשיביאהיא מאהו דַמהאשביא

what are the Planets plotting?

ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܩ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܫ̈ ܘ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈

קאימיא ומתהאתביא שובא

the Seven stand there, they plot

ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܘ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܣ̈ ܟ̈ ܝ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܫ̈ ܘ̈ ܪ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܫ̈ ܘ̈ ܪ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈[1047]

ואמריא דַנאסכילבה בשורבאתא דַהייא

and say: "Let us seduce the Family of Life (or: the Stem of Life)!

ܒ̈ ܫ̈ ܘ̈ ܪ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܣ̈ ܟ̈ ܝ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇

בשורבאתא דַהייא דַנאסכילבה

Let us seduce the Family of Life (or the Stem of Life),

ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܦ̈ ܝ̈ ܣ̈ ܩ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܘ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܡ̈ ܐ̈

וניפיסקא לואתאן באלמא

and cut it off with us in the world!"

ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܘ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܫ̈ ܡ̈ ܥ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܐ̈ ܙ̈ ܐ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܫ̈ ܘ̈ ܡ̈ ܐ̈ ܥ̈ ܘ̈ ܬ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈

כַד האזא שומא עותריא

When the uthras heard this,

ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܘ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܩ̈ ܐ̈ ܐ̈ ܝ̈ ܡ̈ ܐ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܘ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈

עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא ואמריא

the gentle and confirmed uthras, they said:

ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܡ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇[1048] ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܣ̈ ܟ̈

האב ניצובתא נינצובלה לאדאם

[1047] ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܘ̈ ܐ̈ ܡ̈ ܪ̈ ܝ̈ ܐ̈ ܕ̈ ܢ̈ ܐ̈ ܣ̈ ܟ̈ ܝ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ is not found in BL 23601 50r: 13.

[1048] In BL 23599 52v: 12 & BL 23601 50r: 15 there is ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇ ܐ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܬ̈ ܐ̈ ܢ̈ ܝ̈ ܨ̈ ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܠ̈ ܒ̈ ܗ̇

"Allow us to create a wife for Adam, [1049]



ונינאפשיא לשורבתה

and make his race plenteous.

[1050] 

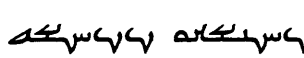
ניקרילה לאדאם עותרא

We will call forth an *uthra* for Adam



ונינציבה בניצובתא

and we will make him take a spouse.[1051]



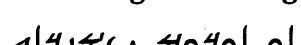
בניצובתא נינציבה

In a planting we will plant him,



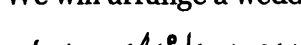
וניבודלה הילולא

and arrange a wedding for him.



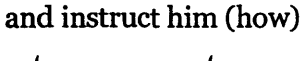
הילולא לאדאם ניבודלה

We will arrange a wedding for Adam,



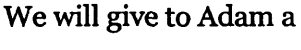
וניהאויא ונילגיטה ענתא

and instruct him (how) to take a wife.



ענתא לאדאם ניתילה

We will give to Adam a wife,



ונישאוילה צאותא

[1049] lit. plant a planting for Adam.
[1050]  uthra: Referring to Eve as a heavenly being ?
[1051] lit. we will plant him in a planting.

and make *şauta* a "companion" for him.

(GRR p. 126)

ܠܒܘܒܐ ܡܒܪܐ

צאותא נישאוילה

will make for him *şauta* a "companion",

ܠܫܘܪܒܬܗ ܘܢܝܐܬܪܗ

לשורבתה וניאתרה

and make his race plentiful.

ܕܪܫܝܐ ܘܣܝܕܪܝܐ ܘܢܩܪܝܐ

דראשיא וסידריא ניקריא

We will recite hymns and (ritual) books,

ܘܢܒܢ ܗܝܝܐ ܒܝܬܐ[1052]

וניבון הייא בינתא

and the Life will build a building,

ܘܢܩܐܪܩܝܠܝܢ ܗܘܢ ܠܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ[1053]

וניקארקילין הון לשיביאהיא

and we will summon the Planets to us,

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܢܝܬܘܢ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܐܢ

אלמא דניתון לכנישתאן

that they may come to our congregation.

ܢܝܬܘܢ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܐܢ

ניתון לכנישתאן

They shall come to our congregation

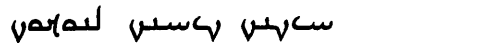
ܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܘܬܐܢ ܢܝܗܘܢ

הינון לואתאן ניהון

and stay with us.

[1052] If we read ܒܢܐ instead of ܒܝܬܐ as in page 4:6 ܒܢܐ ܨܠܬܐ, then this verse will read: "and the Life will make a prayer".

[1053] If we read ܘܢܩܐܪܩܝܠܝܢ ܗܘܢ ܠܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ: "we will overthrow the planets" the meaning of the whole verse will be obscure. Therefore we should read ܘܢܩܪܝܢ: "and we will call them", or "and we will summon them."


הינון ניהון לואתאן

They shall stay with us,

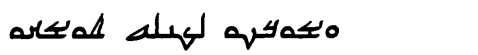

ואדאם ניתראוראב על כולהון

and Adam shall be exalted above them all."




אנא ועותריא אהאה

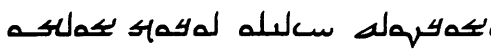
I and the *uthras*, my brothers,


אבאדאנא לכולה טאבתא

prepared all good things (*ṭabta*).


לטאבתא אבאדנא

We prepared good things (*ṭabta*),


ואבאדנאלה הילולא לאדאם באלמא

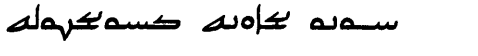
and arranged a wedding for Adam in the world.


הילולא לידאם אבאדנאלה

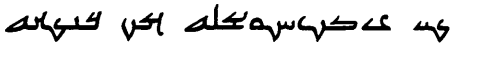
We arranged a wedding for Adam,


ועהאבנאלה ענתא

and we gave him a wife.


האוא בזאוה עהאבנאלה

We gave him Hawa (Eve) as a wife,



כד דעניצאבלה מן דוכתה

just as if she had been planted in her place.

ܟܕ ܕܥܢܝܨܐܒܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܗ

קאמינין והאדינין

We stand there and rejoice,

ܩܐܡܝܢܝܢ ܘܗܐܕܝܢܐ

והאדינאבה מן ריש בריש

and we are overjoyed on his account.

ܘܗܐܕܝܢܐܒܗ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܒܪܝܫ

אלמא דאכצאלא לרוהא

But Rūha was in distress

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܐܟܨܐܠܐ ܠܪܘܗܐ

ושיביאהיא כראתאלהון לכולהון

and all the Planets were grieved.

ܘܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ ܟܪܐܬܐܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܘܠܗܘܢ

רוהא ריהא ניסבאת

The Rūha took incense

ܪܘܗܐ ܪܝܚܐ ܢܝܣܒܐܬ

ומינילתא דכאדבא אמרא עלה

and uttered a word of lie over it.

ܘܡܝܢܝܠܬܐ ܕܟܐܕܒܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܥܠܗ

שאמיש עוצטלא איתיא [1054]

[1054] Concerning the old deities of Mesopotamia during the Sasanian dynasty Morony writes: "Several ancient native deities were still venerated in late Sasanian Iraq. Šamiš or Shamash (the sun), Sīn (the Moon), Bel (Jupiter), Nanai and Nergal are all invoked as benevolent powers on a Syriac incantation bowl from Nippur. Bel and Nbu (Mercury) were associated with Babil and were objects of sacrifice at the court of Shāpūr II. . . The great goddess of Mesopotamia had several names during the Sasanian period, but she was also still known by her original name of Nanai (from Sumerian Inanna), 'the great goddess of the entire earth'. The cult of Nanai was originally associated with the regions of Maysan and Babylonia" (Morony, 1984: 386).

Šamiš (sun-god) brought a garment,



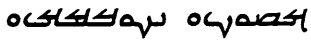
וסירא איתיא תותבא

and Sirra (moon-god) brought a skirt.



ענבו דאהבא איתיא

'Nbo (Mercury) brought gold.



כיואן מסאניא ונארקמיא

Kiwan (Saturn) brought sandals and shoes.



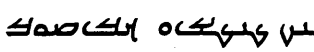
ביל להאמא והאמרא איתיא

Bel (Jupiter) brought the bread and wine.



ניריג איתיא אנאפקיא

Nirig (Mars) brought the drinking cups.



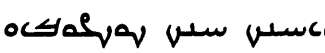
כולהון כוכביא תריסאר

All the twelve stars,



בגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and variety:



מינאיהון הון נאנגאריא

Some of them were carpenters,



ומן סאהראיהון כלילא גאדליא

and some of their demons twined wreaths.

דאיואיהון במאשתימאניא

Their Dewis were obedient servants,

ומן עכוראיהון בשאקואתא

and some of their temple-demons were cup-bearers.

והימראיהון בראקאדיא

Their *humurtas* were dancers.

וניולאיהון בסימאדריא אסא במאבליא[1055] איתון

And their hobgoblins brought myrtle blossoms by the load,

וריהאניא בדגור דגור

and sweet basil in heaps.

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

מן שכינתא דַהייא הו

from the *škina* of the Life.

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

ואבאדבה האסיר ובציר

and produced in them flaw and defect.

[1055] Myrtle, which was used for bridal wreaths is mentioned in one of the rare positive appearances of Ishtar on a Mandaic bowl from Khuabir, on which she is invoked by saying, "You will come with this wine and perfume and myrtle" (Yamuchi, 1967: 205-7). Myrtle wreaths are given to Mandaeans by their priests as part of the rite of *maṣbūta* "baptism" (MII, p. 100).
Lady Drower states: "Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility" (MII, p. 121-2).



אתיויא למארוא אשתארגאנא

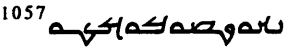
They brought the camel's foot marjoram,



ואבאדבה כול דַביש

and produced in them every evil.

(GRR p. 127)



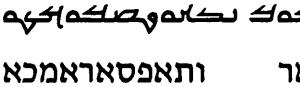
אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,



דַמן שכינתון דַתרין טוריא דאכיא ריהא אתא

whose fragrance came from the *škinas* of the two pure mountains.



אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,



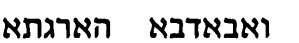
ואבאדבה כול דַסניא

and produced in them every ugly thing.



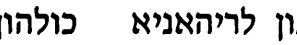
אתיויא לנארגיס רבא אסא ומארמאהוז

They brought the big narcissus, myrtle and wild marjoram



ואבאדבא הארגתא

and they wrongly used them.



אתונון לריהאניא כולהון

They brought all the basil,

[1056] Gr. *σισύμβριον*: watermint (MD, p. 322).
[1057] tapsramka *Ocimum basilicum*, Odoriferous plant (MD, p. 480).



דַגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and every colour,



ואבאדבה כול דַביש

and produced in them every evil.





ניולאיהון בטאבאייא

Their hobgoblins became cooks,



וסאהראיהון באפאייא

and their demons became bakers.



אלגאיון בנאכאסיא שאוון

They made their stammerers butchers,



ופיקאיון בטאבאייא

and their demon visitants cooks.



לאטאבון כולהון בשאקואתא

All their imps became cup-bearers.



כולהון מאשתאמאניא

All of them were obedient servants,



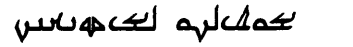
ועשתאמולה לאדאם וכולה שורבתה

and obeyed Adam and all his race.



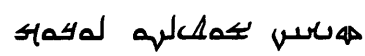
אנא ועותתריא אהאי

I and the *uthras*, my brothers,



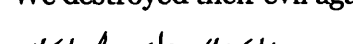
באטילנא לבישותון

destroyed their evil.



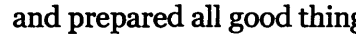
לבישותון באטילנא לאדאם

We destroyed their evil against Adam



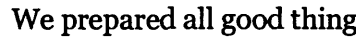
וב֗אדנאלה֗ טאבתא

and prepared all good things for him.



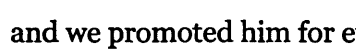
טאבתא לאדאם אבאדנאלה֗

We prepared all good things for Adam



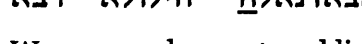
ואסיקנה֗ מן ריש בריש

and we promoted him for ever.



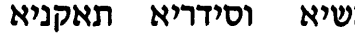
אבאדנאלה֗ הילולא רבא

We arranged a great wedding for him



בדראשיא וסידריא תאקניא

with fabulous hymns and liturgies.



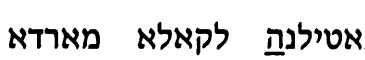
באהתנה֗ לתותא ד֗רוהא

We disgraced the words of Rūha



ובאטילנה֗ לקאלא מארדא

and suppressed her rebellious call.



אנהאינא לבישותא דַשיביאהיא

We abolished the evilness of the Planets

ובאטלינין למאשתוציא כולהון

and brought all the monsters to naught.

תראצנהַ לשירשא דַהייא

We set up the root of Life;

זכא וזאכיא לכאלהַ שורבתא

(The Life) triumphed and brought victory to his entire race.

עקארא הואינין דַאדאם

We stayed with Adam

אלמא דַהאוא האמבאלאת

until Hawa (Eve) was in labour.

אלמא דַהאמבאלאת האוא

Uuntil Hawa was in labour,

אנאהין אקאראיון הוין

we remained with them.

אנין הואינון אקאראיון

We remained with them

[1058] BL 23599 53v: 4 له "for him".

ואנא הוילא סאבוס ענשיא

and I was for him Sabūs (instructor ?) of the women.

ואנא האויתה מילגאט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife,

כד גובריא דזאוא לאגטיא

as men take wives.

אנא האויתה מילגיט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife

ועמרית תיתנפאש שורבאתא דהייא

and I said (to myself), "May the race of the Life be bountiful!

(GRR p. 128)

שורבתא דהייא תיתנאפאש

May the race of the Life to be bountiful,

ומיניהון ניתיאיר אלמא

and by them the world will be roused.

מיניהון ניתיאיר אלמא

The world will be roused by them,

היא טאביתון ניליגטון

and the Life will be grateful to them.

1059 *sabūs d-'nšea*: ناصح الأزواج one who instructs about conjugal life (?).

הייא נילגטון טאביתון

The Life will be grateful to them,

ونيفاركونون ونيصقونون

ונאסקונון ונניפארקונון

deliver them, and make them rise up

ومن ألمى هاذين دبيش

מן אלמא האזין דַּבִּיש

from this world of the evil."

ברישׁ שורבתא קאדמאיתא

At the head of the first generation

هو هذا صاباوثو

אדאכאס זיוא הוא

was Adakas-Ziwa.

هذا صاباوثو هو

הוא אדאכאס זיוא

There was Adakas-Ziwa,

وهو نانايا[1060] دنهورا

ואנאנא דַּנְהוּרָא הואת

and there was Anana d̲-Nhura [the cloud of light).

دنهورا نانايا وهو

הואת אנאנא דַּנְהוּרָא

Anana d̲-Nhura was there.

كد هذه ألفاسيا هي

כַּד דַּהוּאתְאלַהּ הדא כארסא

When she had her first pregnancy,

هي [1061]ألفاسيا ليك ناهيك

[1060] "Cloud of Light" or "Cloud of Radiance" also called Hawa-Kasia "Occult Breath of Pneuma-Eve), spouse of Dakas-Ziwa (SA, p. 36).

הורינתין היביל ואנאתהייא הון

Hibil and Anat-Hiia came into being

[1062]ܗܘܪܝܢܬܝܢ ܗܝܒܝܠ ܘܐܢܐܬܗܝܝܐ ܗܘܢ

כַד הואתאלַה כארסא הורינתין

When she had her another pregnancy,

ܐܢܢ [1064]ܢܨܒ ܘܐܢܗܪ [1063]ܙܝܘܐ ܗܘܢ

אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא הון

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being.

ܢܨܒ ܗܘܢ ܙܝܘܐ ܘܐܢܗܪ ܐܢܢ ܗܘܢ

הון אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being,

ܥܠܡܐ ܥܠ ܫܘܡܗ ܕܒܐܣܝܡ

דַבאסים שומַה על אלמא

whose names are pleasant to the worlds.

ܫܝܬܝܠ ܙܝܘܐ ܢܨܒ ܐܢܢ ܗܘܢ

אנאן נצאב זיוא שיתיל

Anan-Nşab Ziwa-Šitil

ܗܘ ܙܝܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܘܐ ܘܐܢܗܪ

ואנהאר זיוא האוא דַמן האוא הואת

and Anhar-Ziwa-Hawa who was born from Hawa

[1065]ܩܝܡܬܐ ܘܐܪܝܐ ܩܐܪܝܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ

דַאלמא ודאריא קאריל קימתא

to whom all the worlds and generations (aeons) call out for his perpetuity,

ܥܠܡܐ ܥܠ ܫܘܡܗ ܕܩܡܝܐ

דַמקאיאם שומא על אלמיא

whose name is established in the worlds.

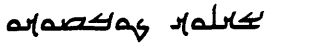
[1061] *Anathiia* ("Thou-art-the-Life"): a higher female being (MD, p. 25).

[1062] BL 23600, O 1236 ܗܘܪܝܢܬܝܢ

[1063] Anan-Nṣab: a spirit (MD, p. 24).

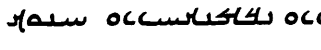
[1064] Anhar-Ziwa: a supernatural female being (MG, p. 26)

[1065] *qimta* Var. *qaiamta:* (a) raising up, resurrection, (b) a prayer of dedication or consecration (MD, p. 400).



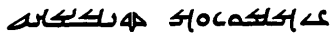
בתלאת כארסאתא

With the third pregnancy



ברהייא ודמותהייא הואת

Bar-Hiia (son of life) and Dmūt-Hiaa (counterpart of life) came into being.



בר אנוש אדאם דַמקאיאם שורבתה

Bar-Anoš-Adam who confirmed his race.



דמותהייא דַמינא מיתיקריא אלמא

Dmūt-Hiia, by whom the world was called forth.



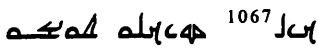
היביל מאריא דַארקא

Hibil, Lord of the earth,



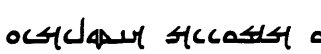
דַאלמיא היזויא ומינה דהיל

whom the worlds saw and (stood) in fear before him.



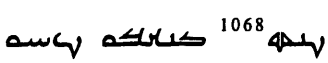
שיתיל שיתלא טאבא

Šitil (Seth), the good child,



עותרא מקאיים תושלימיא

the *uthra* who confirms the perfect ones.



[1066] Hibil is one of the heavenly triad (Hibil, Šitil and Anoš). He is usual Hibil-Ziwa "the Light-Bearer"; a spirit of Light who descended to the underworld and triumphed over the forces of Darkness. (SA, p. 36)

[1067] *Šitil* (Seth) – *Šitil-Ṭaba* "the good plant"; the origin of the pure generation of mankind (SA, p. 36. See also, Stroumsa, 1984: 59). "Seth is an important figure among Essenes, Gnostics and early Christians, and closely connected with such characters as Shem and Melchizedek as well as Jesus" (Welburn, 1991: 44).

אנוש עותרא ניהא

Anuš, the gentle *uthra*,

ܐܢܘܫ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܢܝܗܐ

דמקאיים שורבתא

who confirms his race.

ܕܡܩܐܝܝܡ ܫܘܪܒܬܐ

אדאם מאלכא דעותריא

Adam the king of the *uthras*,

ܐܕܐܡ ܡܐܠܟܐ [1069] ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ

דפאהלילה כולהון אלמא

whom all the worlds serve.

[1070] ܕܦܐܗܠܝܠܗ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܡܐ

אדאם בדמו רביא תראצתה

I put Adam on a par with the great ones,

ܐܕܐܡ ܒܕܡܘ ܪܒܝܐ ܬܪܐܨܬܗ

בריש דבינתא

at the head of the building.

ܒܪܝܫ ܕܒܝܢܬܐ

האוא בדמו אנאנא דנהורא שאויתא

I made Hawa (Eve) equal with Anana d-Nurah (the cloud of light),

ܗܘܐ ܒܕܡܘ ܐܢܐܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ ܫܐܘܝܬܐ

מארתא דכולה אלמא

mistress of the whole world.[1071]

[1068] Anuš (Biblical אנוש). He is the "patron and promoter of Naṣiruta – and of Naṣoraeans who profess and practice it. In Haran Gawaita Anuš guides the persecuted Naṣoraeans to Harran and later into Babylonia, and he avenges them by destroying Jerusalem" (SA, p. 37).

[1069] ܕ not in BL 23601: 51r.

[1070] BL 23601: 51r ܐܠܡܝܢ.

[1071] The elevation of "Man" to a transmundane deity is one of the "most significant traits of Gnostic theology in the general history of religion." (Jonas, h., The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, (JR), 1962: 268).

ܟܕ ܐܩܝܡܬܗ[1072] ܠܐܕܐܡ

כד אקימתה לאדאם

When I (Manda ḏ-Hiia) installed Adam

ܥܠܗ ܐܬܪܝܐ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܩܪܝܬ ܬܠܬܐ

עלה אקרית תלאתא עותריא

I appointed three *uthras* over him.

ܕܐܕܡ ܘܗܘܐ ܥܠܗ ܕܐܩܪܝܬ ܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܕܐܬܪܝܐ

דאדאם והוא עלה דאקרית עותריא

The *uthras* whom I appointed over Adam and Hawa,

ܗܘܝܬ ܕܒܪܝܬܐܝܗܘܢ

דברית‌איהון הוית

I set myself at their head.

(GRR, p. 129)

ܘܩܡܝܬ ܘܐܠܝܦܬܝܢܘܢ ܕܪܫܝܐ ܫܐܢܝܐ

וקאמית ואליפתינון דראשיא שאנייא

And I stood before them and taught them wonderful *drašê* "hymns".

ܐܠܝܦܬܝܢܘܢ ܣܝܕܪܝܐ ܕܡܐܣܝܩܐܬܐ[1073]

אליפתינון סידריא דמאסיקאתא

I taught them liturgies in order to perform the ritual of *masiqta* "ascension"

ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܢܝܣܩܘܢ

דעותריא ניסקון

according to the way of the *uthras*.

ܐܠܝܦܬܝܢܘܢ ܒܐܘܬܐ

אליפתינון באותא

I taught them prayers,

ܕܒܐ ܒܐܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܢܝܬܩܐܝܡܘܢ

דבא באותא דהייא ניתקאימון

so that they might be confirmed through the prayers of the Life.

[1072] In BL 23601: 51r there is ܐܩܝܡܗ

[1073] ܡܐܣܝܩܬܐ *masiqta* (ascension): ritual of the dead. (See above § 1.4.2)

ܐܡܐܪܝܠܘܢ ܥܬܪܐܨܬܘܢ ܘܥܬܩܐܝܡܬܘܢ

אמארילון עתראצתון ועתקאימתון

I said to them, "You are set up and confirmed,

ܒܐܬܪ ܕܛܒܐܝܐ ܡܝܬܩܐܝܡܝܐ

באתאר דַטאביא מיתקאימיא

in the place where the good are confirmed,

ܒܝܢܝܐ ܡܢܝܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ

ביניא מאניא דַנהורא

amongst the Manas of Light,

ܗܐܬܐܡ ܡܝܬܩܐܝܡܘܢ

האתאם מיתקאימון

there, you shall be confirmed."

ܐܝܬܒܝܬ ܘܐܠܝܦܬܝܢܘܢ

יאתבית ואליפתינון

I sat and taught them,

ܟܕ ܕܪܒܐ[1074] ܠܫܘܐܠܝܐ[1075]

כד דַרבה לשואליא

as a master (teaches) his novices.

ܐܡܐܪܝܠܘܢ ܘܒܪܐܟܬܝܢܘܢ

אמארילון ובראכתינון

I spoke with them and I blessed them,

ܡܢ ܒܝܪܟܬܐ ܕܛܒܐܝܐ

מן בירכתא דַטאביא

(and) the bless of the good ones,

ܬܗܘܝܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ

תיהויא עלאואון

shall rest upon them.

[1074] In BL 23599 54r: 10, BL 23600 50v: 23, BL 23601 51v: 5 and BLO 1236: 50v: 23 there is ܐܬܪ

[1075] ܫܘܐܠܝܐ *šualia*: postulant. The name given to a candidate for priesthood (ATŠ p. 15).

ܐܕܐܡ ܘܒܢܗ ܘܫܘܪܒܐܬܗ

אדאם ובנהַ ושורבאתהַ

Adam, his children and his race

ܢܝܗܙܘܢܗ [1076]ܠܐܬܪ ܢܗܘܪ

ניהזונהַ לאתאר נהור

shall behold the Place of Light.

ܟ

ܟܕ ܙܐܬܝܢܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ

כדַ הזאתינון רוהא

When Rūha saw them,

ܠܡܫܬܘܨܝܐ ܩܪܝܐܠܘܢ

למאשתוציא קאריאלון

she called her demons.

ܩܪܝܐܠܘܢ ܠܡܫܬܘܨܝܐ

קאריאלון למאשתוציא

She called her demons,

ܘܡܐܠܟܐܠܘܢ [1077]ܡܝܠܟܐ ܒܐܛܠܐ

ומאלכאלון מילכא באטלא

and gave them worthless advice.

ܡܐܠܟܐܠܘܢ ܡܝܠܟܐ ܒܐܛܠܐ

מילכא באטלא מאלכאלון

She gave them worthless advice,

ܕܠܐܫܝܐ ܠܐܬܪ ܢܗܘܪ

דַלאשיה לאתאר נהור

which was unworthy of the place of Light,

ܘܐܪܐܠܘܢ ܡܐܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܝܢܝܢ ܒܓܘ ܒܐܝܬܐ

וראלון מאהו דַאיתינין בגו באיתא

[1076] In BL 23600 50v: 24 & BLO 1236: 50v: 25 there is ܠܐܬܪ ܢܨܒܐ

[1077] ܡܐܠܟܐܠܘܢ in BL 23601: 51v.

and she said to them, "What will come to us from being in the House

ומאנהירינין בגאוה דאלמא

and illumine in the world?

לימאלאן דמאנהירינין

Why should we illumine

דמנאת בגאוה ליתלאן

when we have no share in it?

מנאתא לאתלאן בגאוה

We have no share in it,

וכולה באיתא לאו דילאן

and the whole house is not ours.

קום נימאולה לנוכראייא

Step forward. Let us speak to the stranger

דניתילאן מנאתא באלמא

so he might grant us a share in the world.

עו לאניתילאן מנאתא

If he denies us a share,

עלה נירמיא תיגרא

we shall pick a quarrel with him.

[1078]

עו לאניתילאן

If he denies us (a share),

לה לאלמא נישיבקה עלה

we will completely forsake the world.

נישיבקה נישאמאר לאלמא

If we forsake the world completely,

מאן הו דניהויב עלה צאותא

who will be its brightness?

צאותא מאן ניהויבה

Who will be its brightness

ונאהירה לאלמא

and illuminate the world?"

כד האזא אמראת רוהא ושיביאהיא

When Rūha and the planets,

בנה דאורא באטלא

the children of the perishable abode, spoke thus,

מאלאלית ואמארילון

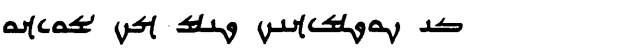
I spoke and said them,

[1078] BLO 1236: 51r: 4 has כד מאלאלית עו 'if he denies us a share'.



למאשתוציא באטליא

to the vile monsters:



עו נאפקיתון פוק מן באיתא

"If you want to leave, leave the house at once.



אנא באלהודאי עיאנהרה

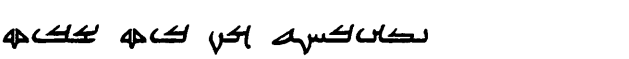
I, by myself, shall illuminate it.



עיאנהרה להאזין באיתא

I shall illuminate this house,

(GRR p. 130)



ועתירצה מן ריש בריש

and set it up in perfect order."



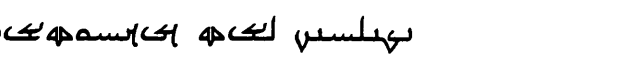
כולהון מאשתוציא הון בהאמבאגותה

All the demons rose up against him,



וקאימיא והאשליא ראזיא

and began contriving secret plots,



וכאלהון לביש מיתהאשביא

and all of them plan evil,

[1079]

ואמריא קום ניפריא פורא

and say to each other, "Arise, let us arrange a feast,

וקום נישתיא מישתיא

arise, let us make a drinking banquet!

[1080]

ראזיא דַרהאמתא ניבאד

Let us practice the mysteries of love,

ונישיטא לכולה אלמא

and seduce the whole world.

ראזיא דַהארשיא ניקריא

Let us recite the secret spells,

ונישאויא כילא באלמאן

and set a term for our world.

ניבאד מארגאנותא

We shall cause an uprising

דַלקאלא דַהייא ניבאטלה

in order to foil the voice of Life.

[1079] "The orgiastic feast prepared by world for the seduction of man, or more generally of the alien Life from beyond, is repeatedly described in extensive scenes in Mandaean writings" (Jonas, 1958: 71).

[1080] This is a general Gnostic motif, nevertheless, the Mandaeans abhore celibacy and encourage marriage and have children. According to Jonas, seduction with "love" is the main weapon of the material world with which it entraps man and makes him remain in the world of darkness. (Ibid pp. 72, 3).

ניבאטלה לקאלא דהייא מן ריש בריש

We want to foil the voice of the Life for ever.

מאן ניקריא תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

Who will pick a quarrel and cast it in the house,

[1081]

דלדארדאריא לאמאשתריא

that might not be settled for eternity?

תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

We shall cast a quarrel in the house

ולנוכראיא ניגיטלה

and kill the stranger!

לנוכראיא ניגיטלה

We shall kill the stranger

ונאסקה לכולה שורבתה

and annihilate his whole race.

אדאם בליגוטאן ניליגטה

We shall take Adam into our party

וניהיזיא מאן דניהוילה פירקא

and see who will be a deliverer for him?"

[1081] This verse in not found in BL 23600 51r: 16 & BLO 1236: 51r: 17

רוהא ושיביאהיא אזאל

Rūha and the Planets departed

[1082]

סליק לטור כארימלא

and ascended to the Mount Carmel.

סליק והאשיב על ראזיא דַרהאמתא

They ascended and thought of the secrets of love.

יאתביא ומיתהאשביא מאשתוציא

The demons sat there and indulged themselves in plotting.

ונאסביא מן ראזאיון דַכולהון

They took from the mysteries of every one,

ומן ראזא דַרוהא נאסביא

and from the mystery of Rūha they took some,

ויאתביא והארשיא אבדיא

and they sit and practice witchcraft.

יאתביא והאישיא בהוכומתון ואמריא

They sit and think over in their sagacity and say (to each other):

[1082] *ṭura karimla* Mt. Carmel is identified with the story of Elijah and has always continued to be a sacred mount. Doubtless communities of 'Sons of the Prophets' and the rest had continuously there their retreats. Carmel had been sacred spot long before the days of Elijah, who hid there from his pursuers. The Arabs still call it Jebal Mar Elyas (Mount Lord Elijah). Mead says "Yamblichus in his *Life* of the sage says that Pythagoras visited it." (Mead, 1924: 47 n. 4) Biblically, Mt. Carmel is referenced most often as a symbol of beauty and fertility. To be given the "splendor of Carmel" was to be blessed indeed (Isa 35: 2). Solomon praised his beloved: "your head crowns you like Mount Carmel" (Song of Songs 7: 5).



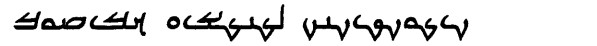
ניקום ונישאויא פורא

"Arise , let us arrange a feast



ונירמיא בגאוה נאנדביא

and we shall cast therein offerings.



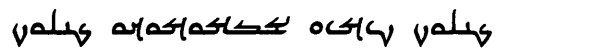
ניכאנפינון לכוכביא תריסאר

We will gather the twelve planets



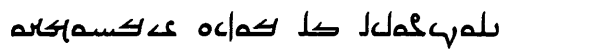
וכולאן נישאויא ראזיא

and all of us will manufacture mysteries.



כולאן נימיא בעמאמאתא כולאן

All of us will swear, with oaths,



ולאניגאליל על ראזיא דרהאמתא

not to reveal the mysteries of love.



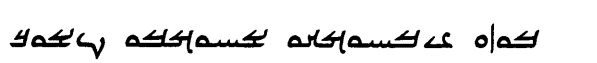
ראזא דרהאמתא באסא ניבאד

Let us practice the mystery of love with myrtle



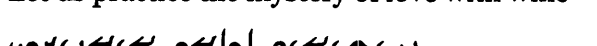
ונישיביא לכולה אלמא

and seduce the whole world!



ראז רהאמתא בהאמרא ניבאד

Let us practice the mystery of love with wine



ונישיביא לאלמא בירויתאן

and entrap the world by our drunkenness.

(GRR p. 131)

ܕܐܪܙ ܕܪܚܡܬܐ ܕܡܝ ܒܗ[1083]

ראזא דַרהאמתא למיא מיבאד

We will perform the mystery of love with water,

ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ

ונאנדהַ לכולהַ אלמא

and stir up the whole world.

ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܢܝܢܥܒܕ

לכולהַ אלמא נינאדהַ

We will stir up the whole world,

ܘܢܫܒܝܐ ܒܫܝܒܝܐ

ונישביא בשיביא

and take it captive

ܒܪܐܙܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܪܚܡܬܐ

בראזא רבא דַרהאמתא

by the great mystery of love.

ܥܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܢܕܥ ܠܢ

דַעניש לאנידא עלין

No one will know about us.

ܕܥܘܡܐܡܬܢ ܕܪܐܙܐ ܠܐ ܢܕܥ

לאנידא בראזא דַעומאמאתאן

(No one) will know the secret of our vows,

ܘܠܐ ܢܓܠܝܠ ܡܝܪܢ

ולאניגאליל מימראן

and (no one) will reveal our word.

ܘܠܐ ܢܓܠܝܠ ܠܥܘܡܐܡܬܢ

ולאניגאלילינין לעומאמאתאן

[1083] Cf. "From the Lord's spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity." (Charlesworth, Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8, 1977: 52).

We will not reveal our vows

ܢܚܠܡܐ ܢܚܟܪܗܣܝܢ ܠܢ ܠܐ ܐܦ

וּמא על כול דַהאשיבנין באלמאן

and all what we designed for our world.

ܒܥܠܡܢ ܐܝܟܠ ܢܚܟܠܡܚܢ [1084]ܐܦܠ

אלמא לאניגאלילינין לראזיא כולהון

We will not reveal all the secrets,

ܐܪܙܐ ܠܐ ܐܦܣܐܦܚܢ

ונישאושא על ליגטתא

and we will cause confusion in the faction,

[1085]ܐܝܟܚܢ ܠܓܠܝ ܐܪܙܐ ܠܐ

על ליגטתא דַלגיט נוכראיא

in the faction which the Alien founded,

ܐܦܠܡ ܐܝܚܢ ܠܓܢܣܝܠܝ

דַלאתיהוילַה מנאתא באלמא

so that no share will be his in the world.

ܠܓܢܣܝܠ ܐܦܠܡ ܐܝܚܢ

מנאתא באלמא לאתיהוילַה

No share in the world will belong to him,

ܐܣܢܚ ܥܠܟ ܐܝܟܐ ܠܒܠ

וכולַה באיתא דילאן ניהויא

and the whole house will belong to us.

ܥܠܟ ܐܣܢܚ ܠܒܠ

כולַה ניהויא דילאן

The whole (house) will belong to us,

ܐܦܠ ܥܟܣܡ ܐܣܢܚܠ ܦܚܝ

וענישׁ לאניהויא בהאזין אלמא

and nobody's else in this world.

[1084] In BL 23599 55r: 7 & BL 23601 52r: 18 we read ܐܦܠ

[1085] ܐܝܟܚܢ not in BL 23601: 52r.

ܡܐܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ ܓܘܐ ܒܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܐܒܐܕ

מאהו דַבאיתא נוכראיא בגוא דַאבאד

What has the stranger done in the house,

ܡܐܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ ܒܓܘܐܗ ܠܝܓܛܬܐ

דַלגאט בגאוהַ ליגטתא

that he could found himself a faction therein?

[1086]ܡܐܪܡܐ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܝܕܝܐ

לאיאדיא מארא דַבאיתא

The master of the house does not know

ܕܫ ܠܢ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ[1087] ܕܟܠܗ

דַכולהַ באיתא דילאן הו

that the whole house belongs to us.

ܒܐܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܢ ܕܫ

באיתא הו דילאן

The house is ours,

ܘܠܕܝܠܘܢ ܡܢܐܬܐ ܠܝܬܠܘܢ

ולדילון מנאתא ליתלון

and the others have no share (in it)."

܀

ܩܐܡ ܫܐܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܠܥܒܝܕܐܬܘܢ

קאם שאושונין לעבידאתון

They rose (and) cast confusion on their deeds,

ܘܫܐܘܒܘܢ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

ושאובון האסיר ובציר

and produced in them blunder and defect,

ܐܡܝܢܛܘܠ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܘ ܕܝܠܘܢ ܗܘ

אמינטול דַבאיתא לאו דילון הו

because the house is not theirs.

[1086] this verse and the above not in BL23601: 52r.

[1087] ܡܐܪܡܐ ܕܒܐܝܬܐ not in BL23601: 52r.

ܒܐܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܘܢ

באיתא לאהוא דילון

The house is not theirs,

ܘܠܐ ܥܬܝܩܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܘܢ ܐܡܝܢܛܘܠ

ולאו אמינטול דילון עתיקריא

and it was not created for their sake.

ܒܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܒܪܟܪܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ

באיתא דַקרון עותריא

To the house which the *uthras* created,

ܠܕܝܠܝܐ ܫܝܗܠܘܢ ܥܠܗ

לדיליא שיהלון עלה

they have sent me in person,

ܠܕܝܠܝ ܠܥܘܬܪܝܐ[1088] ܐܚܝ

לדיליא לעותריא אהאי

me in person (and) the *uthras*, my brothers,

ܕܐܬܝ ܠܥܒܝܕܗ ܛܒܬܐ

דַעתיא עבידה טאבתא

in order to descend and do good therein.

ܠܥܒܝܕܗ ܛܒܬܐ

עבידה טאבתא

To do good therein,

ܘܢܝܛܐܒܘܢ ܛܒܝܐ ܕܢܗܙܘܢ

דַניהזון טאביא וניטאיבון

hence, the good ones will see (the good) and be restored.

ܛܒܝܐ ܕܢܗܙܘܢ ܘܢܝܛܐܒܘܢ

ניהזון וניטאיבון טאביא

The good ones will see (the good) and be restored,

ܕܫܡܫ ܕܒܗܠ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܘܢܨܠܘܢ

[1088] In BL 23600 51v: 16 and BLO 1236: 51v: 16 we find ܠܥܒܕܘ

וניסקון ניהזונהַ לאתאר נהור

then rise and behold the place of Light.

ניהזון וניביהתון בישיא

The wicked ones will only observe and be ashamed,

דַלדוגיא דַנורא שאפליא

(and) into the glowing ovens they shall sink.

שאפליא לדוגיא שגירשאתא

They shall sink into the burning ovens,

דוכתא דַמינהַ עתינציב

into the place from which they were created.

דוכתא דַעתינציב מינהַ

The place from which they were created,

האתאם רוהאיון שאלמא

there, their spirits will yield[1089].

האתאם שאלמא רוהאיון

Their spirits will yield there,

(GRR p. 132)

אמינטול מינדאם שאפיר לאבאד

because they did nothing satisfying.

[1089] or: they will die

כַד לאבאד מינדאם דַשאפיר

Since they did nothing satisfying,

ܕܫܦܝܪ ܡܢܕܐܡ ܠܐܒܐܕ ܟܕ

דַסוף מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא

they will end on the day of the end.

ܟ

ܩܐܡ ܦܪܝܢ ܦܘܪܐ

קאם פרין פורא

They stood and cast a lot,

ܘܦܐܠܝܓ ܡܢܐܬܐ ܠܢܐܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ

ופאליג מנאתא לנאפשאיהון

and allotted a portion for themselves.

ܦܐܠܝܓ ܡܢܐܬܐ ܠܢܐܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ

מנאתא לנאפשאיהון פאליג

They allotted a portion for themselves,

ܕܠܐܫܝܗܝܐ ܠܐܬܪ[1090] ܢܚܘܪ

דַלאשיהיא לאתאר נחור

as they are unworthy of the place of Light.

ܐܦܟܘ ܠܛܐܒܘܬܐ

אפכו לטאבותא

They perverted goodness,

ܡܢܕܐܡ ܕܐܒܐܕ ܡܐܪܗ ܕܐܠܡܐ

מינדאם דַאבאד מארהַ דַאלמא

the thing which the Lord of the world has made.

ܐܦܟܘܢ ܪܐܙܝܐ ܬܪܝܨܝܐ

אפכונון לראזיא תריציא

They perverted the right mysteries (or: the orthodox rites),

ܕܠܐ ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܐ ܕܪܐܙܐ

[1090] BL 23600 51v: 24 & BLO 1236: 51v: 24 ܕܠܐܫܝܗܝܐ ܐܬܪ

מינדאם ד̲קאדמאיא אבאד

something which the First (Life) made.

אפכונון למאלאליא ד̲כושטא

They perverted the words of truth (*kušṭa*),

ומאלאליא ד̲כאדבא אבדיא

and held the words of lie (*kadba*).

מאלאליא אבדיא ד̲באדבא

They held the words of lie,

אנמינטול ד̲לאשיהיא לאתאר נהור

because they are unworthy of the place of Light.

רישא שאויויא דינבא

They changed head into tail

ודאנבא שאויויא רישא

and changed tail into head.

אפכונון לעבידאתון

They perverted their deeds (or: rites),

ואמאר בישותא באלמא

and did evil into the world.

[1091]

[1091] In the Book of *Jue* it is written that "After reciting magical prayers, Jesus administers to his disciples baptism of water, of fire, and of Holy Spirit. As preparation of the baptism of water

אתונון לפיריא כולהון

They brought all the fruit

ﻩﻜﺴﻴﻜﺴﻥ ﻝﻠﻯ ﺯﻜﻩﻜﺴﻩ

ואבאדבון כול דַביש

and did every evil in them.

ﻩﺯﻩﻥﻥ ﻝﻩﻜﻜﺴﻥﻩ

אתונון ליארקוניא

They brought the vegetables

ﻜﺯﻩﺴﻩﻥ ﺴﻩﺻﻜﻜ ﻥﻜﺴﻥﻩﻜﻩ

ושאובון האסיר ובאציר

and made blunder and defect in them.

ﻩﺯﻩﻥﻥ ﻩﻜﻜﻝ ﻩﺯﻩﺱ

אתונון למיא הייא

They brought living water

ﻩﻜﻩﻜﻜﻜﻥ ﺴﻩﻜﻜﻜﻥ ﻜﻩﻜﻩﻩ

ואשאד רמובון הארגתא

and poured turbidity into it.

[1092]ﻩﻜﻩﻜ ﻜﻩﻜﻝ ﻩﺯﻩﻩ

אתיויא לריש כאנא

They brought the head of the race

ﻩﺱﻩﻜﻩ ﻩﺯﻩﻜﺴﻩﻜﻩﺯ ﻩﻜﻩ ﻜﻩﻩﻜﻩﻩ

ואבדאבַה ראזא דַרהאמתא ושיהא

and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust,

ﻩﻜﻝﻩ ﻥﻩﻝﺴﻥ ﻜﻩﻜﻩﺴﻩﻩﻜﻩ ﻜﻩﻜﻩ

דַבַה מישתאציבַה כולהון אלמיא

through which all the worlds are inflamed.

[1093]ﻩﻜﻩﻩﻩﻝﻩﺻﻩﻜﻩ ﻩﻜﻜﻩﻜﻩﻩ

---

the disciples bring to Jesus various plants, the juniper, the terebinth, etc., probably for their magical properties" (cited by Yamauchi, 1970: 12).

[1092] ﻩﻜﻩﻜ ﻜﻩ Adam is the head of the race.

אבאדבא מאסטיאנותא

They practiced on him seduction,

ܐܒܐܕܒܐ ܡܐܣܛܝܐܢܘܬܐ

אלמיא כולהון סאטין דַבהַ

to lead the whole world astray.

ܐܠܡܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܣܐܛܝܢ ܕܒܗ

אבאדבהַ ראזא דַרויתא

They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness,

ܐܒܐܕܒܗ ܪܐܙܐ ܕܪܘܝܬܐ

אלמיא כולהון ראויבהַ דַבהַ

by which all the worlds are drunken.

ܐܠܡܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܪܐܘܝܒܗ ܕܒܗ

מאשקילון מן כאס רויתא

They made them drink from the cup of drunkenness,

ܡܐܫܩܝܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܐܣ ܪܘܝܬܐ

דַמאזבריא אנפאיון ליאמא רבא דַסוף

so that they turn their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ܕܡܐܙܒܪܝܐ ܐܢܦܐܝܘܢ ܠܝܐܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܣܘܦ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver

ܐܬܝܘܝܐ ܠܕܐܗܒܐ ܘܟܐܣܦܐ

ומארגאניא דַהאזין אלמא

and the pearls of this world.

ܘܡܐܪܓܢܝܐ ܕܗܐܙܝܢ ܐܠܡܐ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver,

1093 BL 23600 52r: 6 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 ܐܬܝܘܝܐ.

1094 BL 23599 55v: 12, BL 23600 52r: 6, BL 23601 52v: 19 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 ܒܗ.

1095 BL 23599 55v: 14 & BL 23601 52v: 19 ܕܡܐܙܒܪܝܐ.

1096 BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9 ܐܠܡܐ.

1097 ܘܡܐܪܓܢܝܐ not in BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9.

ܕܟܠܐ ܕܒܗܝܐ ܕܒܐ

דַבהַ ראויבהַ אלמא

by which the worlds became drunk.

[1099]ܕܒܗܝܐ [1098]ܕܟܠܐ ܒܐ

בהַ אלמיא ראויבהַ

The worlds became drunk,

ܨܒܘܢ ܕܒܐ ܕܐ̈ܒܐ ܣܘܦ ܪܒܐ ܐܢܦܝܘܢ ܠܝܐܡܐ ܘܡܐܙܒܪܝܐ

דַסוף רבא אנפאיון ליאמא ומאזבריא

and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ܘܡܢܢܐ ܐܬܝܘܝܐ ܠܐܪܓܒܐ

ומינונא אתיויא לארגבא

They brought money and possessions

ܘܟܠ ܒܝܫ ܕܒܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ

ואבאדבהַ כול דַביש

and did with them every vileness.

ܣ

ܠܪܘܗܐ ܦܠܐܓܠܐ ܫܝܗܐ

לרוהא פלאגלא שיהא

They allotted lust for Rūha,

(GRR p. 133)

ܕܒܗ̈ܘܢ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܘܡܙܕܕܢ ܒܐ

דַבהַ ניהזונהַ אלמיא ונישתאצון

by which the worlds get agitated when they see it .

ܕܒܐ[1100] ܣܒ̈ܐ

[1098] ܘܟܠܐ ܒܐ not in BL 23600 52r: 10 & BLO 1236: 52r: 10 .

[1099] In this concern Jonas writes: "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understood by the term "world." . . The drunkenness of ignorance is opposed by the "sobriety" of knowledge, a religious formula sometimes intensified to the paradox of "sober drunkenness."" (Jonas 1958: 71).

[1100] The planets continued to be worshiped in Iraq inspite the Sasanians attempts to close the old temples. In this concern Morony wrties: "Although paganism was declining in Sasanian Iraq, ancient Mesopotamian religious traditions survived in several important ways. . . There

לנבא פלאגלה הוכומתא

They allotted wisdom for Nbū

ودحمسكرے حكمحك ٥ىىەەلم

ושאויויא מארא דרהאמתא

and made him the Lord of love.

٥حىىكحلم ٥حكمك [1101] ولمحلم

פלאגלה טאבליא ואמבוביא

They allotted for him drums and flutes,

٥حكلە ولمسن ىحكىكەحكىرے

דמישתביבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the world are lured.

ىەقحكى ولمحلم لهىمن

לכיואן פלאגלה בישותא

To Kiwan they allotted wickedness,

كحكسن كەصحك سەىە ٥ىەم ىحكىرے

דמינה האויא האסיר ובציר

from which flaw and defect came into being.

٥حىىحم ولمحلم ەحكىەلم

לשאמיש פלאגלה כאדבא

To Šamiš (Sun-god) they allotted deceit,

٥حكلە ولمسن ٥ىەحكىەحكى ىحىرے

דבה מישתאמשיא כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are befooled.

ىەحكصحك سىصحكم ولمحلم لصن

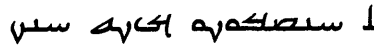
לסין פאלגלה הוסראנא

---

may have been temples of Bel and of Nabu at Burs as late as third century. There are references to pagan temples with idols in the late sixth and early seventh centuries in Beth 'Arbhaye, Arzon, Margha, Adiabene, Beth Garme, Kaskar, and Maysan. . . By the fourth century, pagans were already beginning to celebrate their festivals in secret. Such a festival was held in honour of Nabu at his altar in a mountain village near 'Anat and included dancing, raillery, and the playing of the lyre and drums" (Morony, 1984: 384-85).

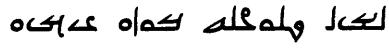
[1101] In BL 23600 52r: 13 & BLO 1236: 52r: 13 we read ولمحلم حلم

To Sin (Moon-god) they allotted imperfection,



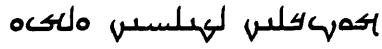
דַכול הוסראנא מינהַ הון

from which all the blemish generated.



לביל פלאגלהַ ראזא דַמיא

To Bil they allotted the mystery of the water,



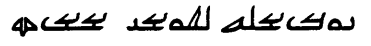
דַבהַ מאנידלון לכולהון אלמיא

with which he stirs up all the worlds.



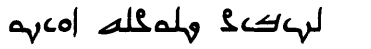
לכולהון אלמיא מאנידלון

He stirs up all the worlds,



ואריבלהַ לטאבו בביש

and blends good with evil.



לנירג פלאגלהַ זאניא

To Nirig (Mars) they allotted arms,



למיבאד קראבא באלמא

to wage the war in the world.



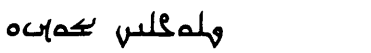
קארילון לכוכביא תריסאר

They called the Twelve Stars,



ומאלואשיא אלאגלון

and divided the signs of the zodiac (*milwašia*) between them.



פלאגלון באתיא

They divided them (the planets) into Houses

[1102]ܦܠܓܘ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܣܝܪܘܬܐ

אכמאר בבישותא רמון

and once more they cast them into wickedness.

[1103]ܐܟܡܐܪ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܪܡܘܢ

אכמאר רמון בבישותא

Once more they cast them into wickedness,

ܣܝܢܐ ܩܝܢܐ ܘܦܠܘܓܝܐ

סינא קינא ופלוגיא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

[1104]ܦܠܐܓܠܘܢ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܘܝܗܪܝܐ

פלאגלון ליומא ויהריא

They divided the days and the months.

ܦܠܓܘܢ ܠܫܐܝܝܐ ܘܫܘܫܝܐ

פאלגונון לשאייא ושושיא

They divided the hours and the *šušias* (five minutes?).

ܦܠܓܘܢ ܠܫܐܝܝܐ ܘܫܘܫܝܐ ܦܠܓܘܢ

לשאייא ושושיא פאלגונון

They divided the hours and *šušias*.

ܦܠܓܘܢ ܠܢܐܓܝܐ ܘܦܘܗܪܝܐ

פאלגונון לנאגיא ופוהריא

They divided the minutes and seconds.

ܦܠܓܘ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܣܝܪܘܬܐ

פאלגו לכולהַ האסירותא

They spread every deficiency,

ܘܦܠܓܘܝܐ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

ופאלגויא לכולהַ האסיר ובציר

[1102] Instead of this verse we read in BL 23600 52r: 20 & BLO 1236: 52r: 20: ܦܠܓܘ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܣܝܪܘܬܐ

[1103] In BL 23600 52r: 22 & BLO 1236: 52r: 22 as above.

[1104] ܐܠܣܘ ܥ in BL 23601: 53r.

and they spread all the flaw and blunder.

ܘܚܠܓܘܝܐ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܠܡܐ ܠܢܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ

פאלגויא לכולה אלמא לנאפשאיהון

They divided the whole world between them,

[1105]ܘܫܘܡܐ ܕܩܐܕܡܐܝܐ ܠܐܥܕܟܐܪ

ושומא דקאדמאיא לאעדכאר

and the name of the First was not mentioned.

ܥܣܪܘܝܐ ܠܐܣܐܪܘܢ

עסרויא לאסארון

They made an alliance,

[1106]ܘܪܡܘܢ ܒܪܐܒܐ ܙܝܡܐܝܘܢ

ורמון בראבא זימאיון

and discarded their great fetters(?).

ܐܫܐܪ ܠܥܘܡܐܡܬܘܢ

אשאר לעומאמתון

They confirmed their oaths,

ܕܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܐܕܒܐ ܡܐܘܕܝܢ

דכולהון בכאדבא מאודין

which all of them confess with lies.

[1108]ܥܠ ܐܫܐܪ [1107]ܥܘܡܐ

אשאר על עומאמתא

They confirmed their vows,

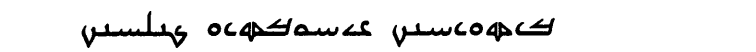
ܕܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܛܘܪ ܟܐܪܝܡܠܐ

which they made on the Mount Carmel.

[1105] Cf. ܘܫܘܡܐ ܕܩܐܕܡܐܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܫܡ GRR, p. 85: 20.
[1106] In BL 23600 52r: 27 & BLO 1236: 52r: 27 there is ܙܝܡܐܝ
[1107] ܥܘܡܐ is not fouhnd in BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1.
[1108] In BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1 we read: ܠܟܐܫܐܪ

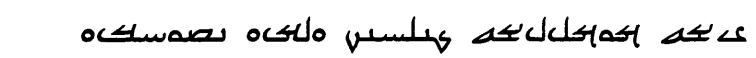
פורא דַפרון שובא

In the feast which the Seven (planets) prepared,



רישאיהון דַהארשיא כולהון

the head (foundation) of all sorcery,



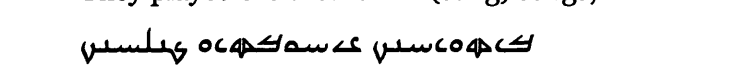
דַבהַ מאמלילִיבהַ כולהון אלמיא וסאהריא

all the aeons and demons spoke.



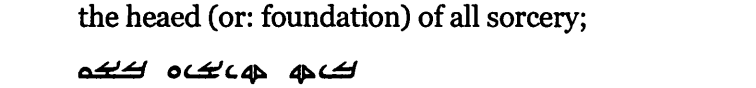
מאמלילבהַ טאבליא וזמאריא

They played the drums and (sung) songs;



רישאיהון דהארשיא כולהון

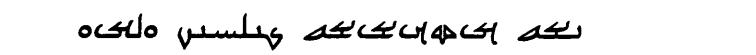
the heaed (or: foundation) of all sorcery;



ריש שיביא רבא

the head of great captivity,

(GRR p. 134)



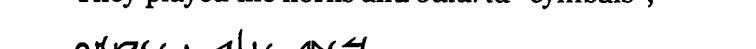
ובהַ מישתיביהַ כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are entrapped.



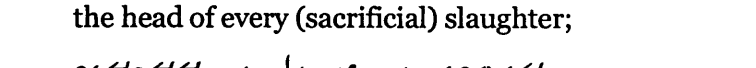
מאמלילִיבהַ קארניא ובאלוריא

They played the horns and *balūria* "cymbals";



ריש כולהַ נכיסתא

the head of every (sacrificial) slaughter;



רישאיהון דַכולהון קראביא

the beginning of every hostility,

ܕܟܠܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܝܒܘ ܕܒܗ

דַבהַ מישתאביבהַ כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds were captivated.

ܕܐܡܠܝܠܝܒܗ ܟܝܢܐܪ ܫܝܗܐ

מאמלילִיבהַ כינאר שיהא

They played the lute of lust,

ܕܒܗ ܫܝܗܐ ܥܨܛܐܪܐܪ ܥܠܐܫܐܝܗܘܢ

דַבהַ שיהא עצטאראר עלאשאיהון

by which lust was formed amongst them.

ܕܐܡܠܝܠܝܒܗ ܒܕܐܪܒܘܟܐ

מאמלילִיבהַ בדארבוכא

They played the tambourines,

ܕܒܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ[1109] ܕܐܡܠܐܠܝܒܗ

דַבהַ מאמלאליבהַ רוהיא כולהון

by which all the *rūhas* "spirits" spoke.

ܒܗ ܡܐܡܠܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ

בהַ מאמללא כולהון רוהיא

With which all the *rūhas* "spirits" spoke,

ܘܫܝܒܝܐ ܫܝܒܝܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

ושיביא שיביא באלמא

and made a catch in the world.

ܕܐܡܠܠܝܒܗ ܒܫܝܦܘܪܝܐ

מאמלליבהַ בשיפוריא

They played the trumpets,

ܕܐܡܠܠܝܒܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ

מאמלליבהַ ברוגזא כולהון

they all played with excitement.

ܒܪܓܫܐ ܕܐܡܠܠܝܒܗ

[1109] In BL 23599 56r: 17 & BL 23601 53r: 20 there is ܕܐܡܠܐܠܝܒܗ

מאמלליבה באמאמיא דַכאדיבתא

They played the flutes of the liar,

ܡܐܡܠܠܝܒܗ ܒܐܡܐܡܝܐ ܕܟܐܕܝܒܬܐ

דַכולה כאדבא מינאיון הוא

by which all the lie came forth from them.

ܕܟܘܠܗ ܟܐܕܒܐ ܡܝܢܐܝܘܢ ܗܘܐ

מאמלליבה בגוהא רבא

They played with a loud din,

ܡܐܡܠܠܝܒܗ ܒܓܘܗܐ ܪܒܐ

דַעתיגנא גוהא באלמא

so a thunder pealed in the world.

ܕܥܬܝܓܢܐ ܓܘܗܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

גוהא באלמא עתיגנא

A thunder pealed in the world,

ܓܘܗܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ ܥܬܝܓܢܐ

אלמא דַאנידויא לכולה אלמא

and they shock the whole world.

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܐܢܝܕܘܝܐ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܐܠܡܐ

לאלמא כולה אנידויא

They shock the whole world,

ܠܐܠܡܐ ܟܘܠܗ ܐܢܝܕܘܝܐ

ואנידו לארקא מן ריש בריש

and they shook the earth entirely.

ܘܐܢܝܕܘ ܠܐܪܩܐ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܒܪܝܫ

לסאדאנא דַארקא אנידויא

They shook the anvil of the earth,

ܠܣܐܕܐܢܐ ܕܐܪܩܐ ܐܢܝܕܘܝܐ

ואנידויא לכולה רקיהא

ואנידויא לכולה רקיהא

1110 ܐܠܡܐ BL 23601: 53r.

and quaked the whole firmament.

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܪܓܙܘ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܪܩܝܥܐ

לכולהַ רקיהא אנידויא

They quaked the whole firmament,

ܘܫܝܒܝܐ ܪܡܘܢ ܒܟܘܠ ܕܘܟܬܐ

ושיביא רמון בכול דוכתא

and made a catch in every place.

ܩܠܐܝܢ ܘܩܠ ܓܘܗܐܝܢ

קאלאיון וקאל גוהאיון

Their voices and the sound of their din,[1111]

[1112]ܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ ܣܠܝܩ

מאנא מן יאמא סליק

made one mana to ascend upwards from the sea.

ܡܢܐ ܣܠܝܩ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ

מאנא סליק מן יאמא

One mana ascended upwards from the sea,

[1113]ܘܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܥܡܒܝܐ ܘܥܠܢܝܐ ܥܬܝܢܣܝܒ

וכולהון עמביא ועלאניא עתינסיב

and all vines and trees were planted.

ܟ

ܟܕ ܥܬܝܢܣܝܒ[1114] ܥܡܒܝܐ ܘܥܠܢܝܐ

כדַ עתינסיב עמביא ועלאניא

When the vines and trees were planted,

ܩܠܐܝܗܘܢ ܒܥܘܕܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܢܦܐܠ

קאלאיהון בעודנהַ דַאדאם נפאל

[1111] Jonas comments: "The Mandaean scene of the conspiracy of the world prompts an additional observation. The orgiastic feast, intended to draw man into its drunken whirl, has besides intoxication another aspect: its noise is to drown out the "call of Life" and deafen man to the voice of the alien Man" (Jonas 1958: 73).

[1112] A recollection of Ea-Oannes myth.

[1113] In BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 read: ܐܬܬܝܢܣܝܒ "were planted".

[1114] BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 ܐܬܬܝܢܣܝܒ.

their noise fell into Adam's ear(s).

כד אנפאל קאלאיון בעודנה דאדאם

When their noise fell into Adam's ear(s),

אדאם מן שינתה קאם

Adam awoke from his sleep.

אדאם קאם מן שינתה

Adam awoke from his sleep,

ואזבאר אנפה לאתאר נהור

and raised his face to the place of Light.

קראלון לאדיאוריא

He called his helpers.

קראלון לעותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא

He called the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.

אמארלה להיביל עותרא

He spoke to Hibil-Uthra,

גאברא דקאלה אשמא

the Man who heard his voice, :

מאהו הו בגו באיתא

"What ensued in the House,

[1115] Hibil-Uthra appears here as a redeemer in place of Manda d-Hiia. Their names exchange places more often in the Mandaean texts.

ܒܓܐܘܗ ܕܗܐܙܝܢ ܐܠܡܐ

בגאוה דהאזין אלמא

(what ensued) in this world?

ܡܐܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܒܓܘ ܒܐܝܬܐ

מאהו הוא בגו באיתא

What ensued in the House,

(GRR p. 135)

ܕܣܠܝܩ ܩܠܐ ܡܛܝܐ ܕܓܘܗܐ ܫܘܡܝܐ

דסאליק קאלא מאטיא דגוהא שומיא

that made the noise of the din rise and reach the heavens?"

ܟܘܠܐ ܐܪܩܐ ܢܐܕܐܬ

כולא ארקא נאדאת

The whole earth shock,

ܘܟܘܠܗ ܪܩܝܗ ܥܬܡܐܣܪ

וכולה רקיהא עתמאסאר

and the whole firmament was crushed[1116]

ܠܒܐܒ ܐܠܡܝܐ ܟܘܠܗܝܢ ܥܬܐܢܣܐܒ

לבאב אלמיא כולהון עתאנסאב

The mind of all the worlds was grasped,

ܘܐܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܗ

ואשנא מן דוכתה

and was deviated from its place.

ܟ

ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ ܗܟܢܐ

כד האזין אמאר אדאם

When Adam spoke thus,

ܥܨܛܐܪܐܪ ܒܐܝܢܗ ܕܝܡܝܚܬܐ

עצטאראר באינה דימיחתא

[1116] *rqiha 'tmasar* "the firmament was rendered to (earth)? (MD, p. 267).

tears were formed in his eyes.

כד האזין אמאר אדאם

When Adam spoke thus,

אנא בארית באלבושאי

I shone forth in my attire.

באריבה באלבוש עשאתא האיתא

I shone forth in the attire of the living flame,

דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father bestowed on me.

באריבה באלבושא דאכיא

I shone forth in a pure garment,

דנפיש וסאכא ליתלה

which is so wide and infinite.

קארבית ולגאטתה לאדאם

I drew near and held Adam,

באפראס יאמינה

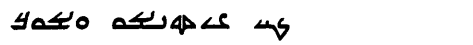
by the palm of his right hand,

ואנהאיתה ללבה על סאמכה

and I let his heart rest on its support

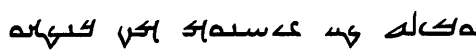
אנהאיתה ואמארילה

I calmed him and told him,



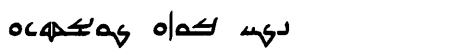
כַּד דַשובא אבאד

how the Seven behaved.



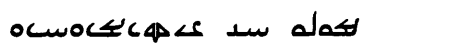
תום אמארה כַּד דַהואת מן דוכתא

Then I told him of what happened there and then,



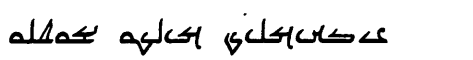
וכַּד ראזא כאבשיא

and how they devise a secret plot.



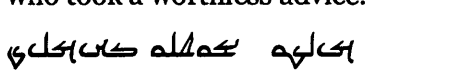
קאלא הו דַשיביאהיא

That was the voice of the Planets,



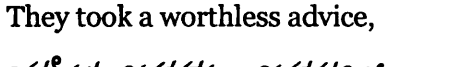
דַעתימליך מילכא באטלא

who took a worthless advice.



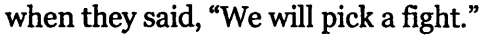
מילכא באטלא עתימליך

They took a worthless advice,



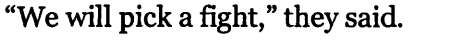
דַאמאריא נירמיא תיגרא

when they said, "We will pick a fight."



אמאריא תיגרא נירמיא

"We will pick a fight," they said.



ואמריא לאלמא נאפרה

And they said, "We will disorganize the world!"



אמריא נאפרה לאלמא

(When) they said, "We will disorganize the world,

ܘܢܝܫܐܘܝܒܗ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܥܨܝܪ

וניאשאויבה האסיר ובאציר

and cause in it flaw and defect."

ܐܡܪܝܠܗ[1117] ܥܠ ܟܘܢ ܘܥܬܟܐܢܐܢ ܐܕܡ

ואמרילה כון ועתכאנאן אדאם

I said to him, "Be calm and steady,

ܠܐܬܝܟܪܝܠܐܟ ܥܠܐܘܐܝܗܘܢ ܠ

לאתיכרילאך עלאואיהון

be not troubled about them.

ܠܐܬܝܟܪܝܠܐܟ ܥܠ ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ ܠ

לאתיכרילאך על שיביאהיא

Be not troubled about the Planets,

ܘܥܠ ܢܝܡܪܘܣ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܠܡܐ ܠ

ועל נימרוס עמא דאלמא

and about Namrus, the mother of the world.

ܐܢܐ ܐܗܐܘܝܟ ܒܪܐܕܘܦܐܟ ܐ

אנא עהאויאך בראדופאך

I will show you part of your persecutors,

ܘܥܝܐܫܐܝܠܝܢܘܢ ܠܪܐܕܘܦܐܟ

ועיאשאילינון לראדופאך

and (then) I will abase your persecutors.

ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܗܐ ܙܐܐ

אנאת אנהא להאוא זאואך

Calm Hawa, your woman,

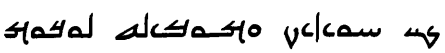
ܘܠܐܢܝܗܘܝܒܐܟ ܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

ולאניהויבאך האסיר ובציר

and flaw and blunder will not afflict you."

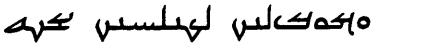
[1117] In BL 23599 56v: 23 & BL 23601 53v: 21 we read: ܥܠ ܟܘܢ ܘܥܬ





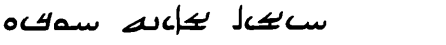
כַּד האיזין אמארילַה לאדים

Once I spoke thus to Adam,



אמארילון לכולהון בנַה

then I spoke to all his sons.



היביל בזיוַה האדיא

Hibil is pleased with his radiance,



ושיתיל מקארילון לנאצבַה

and Šitil calls aloud for his helpers.



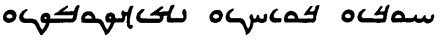
שיתיל בערותַה

Šitil (rejoices) in his illumination,



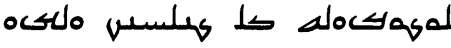
ואנוש בשותא דַעותריא אהַה אשמויא

and Anoš (is pleased) by the voice which his brothers the *uthras* let him hear.



האדיא דאיציא ומיתפארפיא

They make merry, exult and rejoice.

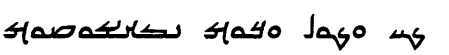


ולאכאריאלַה על כולהון אלמיא

and they are not troubled about all the worlds.



(GRR p. 136)



כַּד אכאל אדאם ועתבאסאם

Once Adam finished eating he rejoiced and was glad,

ܟܡܠ ܐܟܠ ܐܕܡ ܘܐܬܒܣܡ ܘܐܬܪܥܝ

קאראלה להאוא זאוה ואסברא ברוהצאנא

he called Hawa, his woman, and inspired her with confidence.

ܕܗܝܒܝܠ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܥܬܟܐܠܐܠ ܘܫܟܝܒ ܥܠ ܕܘܟܬܗ

דהיביל עותרא עתכאלאל ושכיב על דוכתה

Whilst Hibil-Uthra was asleep in his place from exhaustion,

ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ

הדא מן בנה דאדאם

one of Adam's sons,

ܢܦܫܗ ܒܗܐܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ

נאפשה בהאסירותא הואת

his soul was inflicted with blunder.

ܒܗܐܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܢܦܫܗ

נאפשה הואת בהאסירותא

His soul was inflicted with blunder,

ܘܫܝܢܬܐ ܠܐܝܢܗ ܠܐܬܬ

ושינתא לאינה לאתאת

and sleep did not visit his eyes.

ܒܠܝܒܗ ܓܢܐܠܗ ܓܘܗܐ

בליבה גנאלה גוהא

There was a groaning in his heart

ܘܩܐܝܡܐ ܘܢܐܝܕܐ ܩܘܡܬܗ

וקאימא ונאידא קומתה

and his body began to shake.

ܥܬܗܐܫܐܒ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ

עתהאשאב בבישותא

He thought out in vice,

ܘܫܝܒܩܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܐܒܘܝܐ

ושיבקה לאדאם אבויא

and forsook his father, Adam,

ܘܫܒܩܗ ܠܐܒܘܗ ܐܕܡ

וּשׁיבקהּ לאבוא עמהּ

and his mother, Hawa,

ܘܥܫܒܐܩܝܢ ܠܐܡܗ ܚܘܐ

ועשבאקינון לאהּ כדּ שכיביא

and forsook his brothers whilst they were asleep.

ܫܒܩܝܢ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܟܠܗܘܢ

שבאקינון לאהאּ כאלהון

He forsook all his brothers,

ܨܠܩ [1118]ܘܐܩܪܝܐ ܒܐܫܝܬܗ

וּאקריא באשיתהּ סליק

and climbed the fortress by the wall.

ܐܩܪܝܐ ܒܐܫܬܗ ܨܠܩ

אקריא סליק באשאתהּ

He climbed the fortress by the wall,

ܘܐܙܠ ܒܓܘܢܗ [1119]ܕܟܢܝܫܬܘܢ

וּאזאל בגאונהּ דּכנישתון

and went into their assembly.

ܟ

ܟܕ ܚܙܗ ܠܗ

כדּ הזאתהּ רוהא

When Rūha saw him,

ܥܗܟܬ ܘܐܬܒܣܡܬ ܐܬܕܥܬ

עהכאת הדאת ועתבאסמאת

she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced.

ܟܕ ܐܬܕܥܬ ܘܐܬܒܣܡܬ

[1118] In BL 23599 57r: 13 & BL 23601 54r: 10 ܘܐܩܪܝܐ is not found.
[1119] In BL 23599 57r: 13, BL 23600 53r: 22, BL 23601 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 53r: 22 read: ܠܟܢܝܫܬܗ

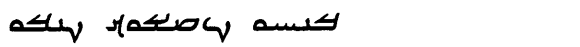
הדאת ועתבאסמאת רוהא

Rūha gladdened and became rejoiced,



והדון שיביאהיא כולהון

and all the Planets were pleased.



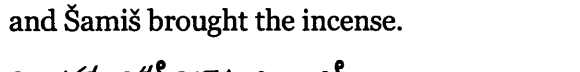
רוהא ניסבאת נורא

Rūha fetched the fire,



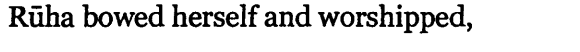
ושאמיש ריהא נסאב

and Šamiš brought the incense.



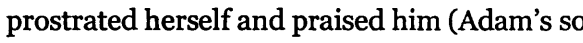
גאהנא וסאגדא רוהא

Rūha bowed herself and worshipped,



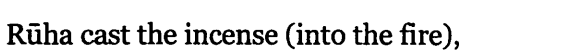
ומאהתא קומתא ומשאבא

prostrated herself and praised him (Adam's son).



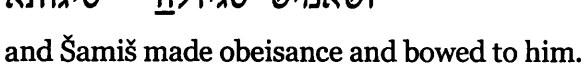
רוהא רמאת ריהא

Rūha cast the incense (into the fire),



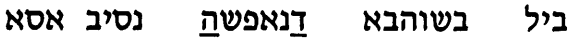
ושאמיש סגידלה̲ סיגותא

and Šamiš made obeisance and bowed to him.



ביל בשוהבא דנאפשה̲ נסיב אסא

Bil in his own pride took myrtle



ואלאנפה̲ נפאק

and went to meet him.



קאימיא ומבארכילה ואמרילה

They approached him and blessed him and said to him:

מן בירכתאן תייול עלאך

"May our bless be bestowed upon you."



כיואן בתיראתה תראצלה בעדה סימאדרא

Kiwan courteously (?) set a blossom in his hand.



וכלילא אלגיטלה בעדה

and passed a wreath into his hand,



וסגיד והאנאנה ונישקה

then he bowed to him (in worship), embraced him and kissed him.



סין בליבה בירכה

Sin blessed him with his heart,



ורוהא בראכתה בהאנכא

and Rūha blessed him with her jaws (or: voice).

בארכאלה בבילורא

They blessed (or: welcomed) him with cymbals (*bilūria)*



ושאבשאת איילתה לכנישתא

and leading astray she brought him into a church.

[1120] BL 23599 57r: 19 & BL 23601 54r: 16 we read: . In BLO 1236: 53r: 27

[1121] *tirat, tirta*: inner part of the pody, inner conviction, conscience. (MD, pp. 486-7)

כד מיתכארכיבה שיביאהיא

When the Planets surrounded him,

ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ ܡܝܬܟܐܪܟܝܒܗ ܟܕ

עדה שאדיא על תותבה

he laid his hand on his garments.

ܥܕܗ ܫܐܕܝܐ ܥܠ ܬܘܬܒܗ

עדה על תותבה שאדיא

He laid his hand on his garments,

ܬܘܬܒܗ ܠܬܘܬܒܗ ܘܡܢܐܦܝܨܠܘܢ

ומנאפיצלון לתותבה

and he shook for them his garments,

ܘܩܐܝܡ ܘܫܐܕܝܐ ܡܝܪܬܐ

וקאיים ושאדיא מירתא

He began to spit bile.

[1122]ܩܪܩܢܐ ܠܩܪܩܢܐ ܡܢܐܦܝܨܠܘܢ

מנאפיצלון לקארקנא

He shook for them his sandals (?).

(GRR p. 137)

[1123]ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܗܕ ܠܥܘܬܪܝܐ ܡܐܕܟܐܪܠܘܢ

מאדכארלון לעותריא אהה

He remembered his brothers, the *uthras*,

ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܗܕ ܠܥܬܪܝܐ ܐܗܕ ܠܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܐܕܟܐܪܠܘܢ

ומאדכארלון לשותא דעתריא אהה אשמויא

and remembered the speech which his brothers, the *uthras*, let him hear.

ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܐܗܕ ܠܐܬܪ ܡܐܕܟܐܪܠܗ ܠܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܬܪܝܐ

אטאר מאדכארלה לשותא דעותריא

Remembering for sometime the speech of the *uthras*,

[1122] or *qirqna* dress, sandals, shoes (?) MD p. 412

[1123] in BL 23599 57v: 2 & In BLO 1236: 53v: 5 we read: ܐܘܬܪܝܐ ܠܐܬܪ ܡܐܕܟܐܪܠܗ

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܒܪܝܫܐ ܐܘܬܒܘܝܐ

אלמא דַבריש֐א אותבויא

until they seated him on top.

ܟܕ ܐܘܬܒܘܝܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ

כַד אותבויא בריש֐א

When they seated him on top,

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܟܐܣܐ ܐܠܓܝܛܘܝܐ

אלמא דַכאס֐א אלגיטויא

they offered him the drinking cup.

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܐܫܩܘܝܐ ܟܐܣܐ

אלמא דַאשקויא כאס֐א

Until they offered him the cup to drink,

ܐܠܡܐ ܬܢܝܘܝܐ ܘܬܝܠܬܘܝܐ

אלמא תיניויא ותילתויא

until they (offered him the cup) twice and three times,

ܠܒܐ ܒܦܠܘܓܬܐ ܩܐܡ

ליבַה בפלוגת֐א קאם

his heart misgave him (lit. stood in doubt),

ܘܫܝܐܠܬܗ ܪܩܘܕܐ ܩܘܡܬܗ

ושיאלתַה רקוד֐א קומתַה

and his body desired dance.[1124]

ܟ

ܟܕ ܐܝܙܝܢ ܐܒܐܕ ܐܕܡ ܒܪ ܐܕܡ

כַד האיזין אבאד אדאם בר אדאם

When Adam, the son of Adam, had done that,

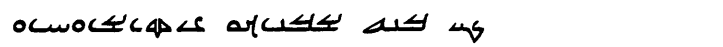
[1125]ܡܢ ܣܦܪܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ

[1124] The Mandaean scriptures warns frequently against lust, dance and consuming wine which results in adultery and fornication. (GRR, p. 26: 1, 35: 6, 48: 15, etc.)

[1125] BL 23601 54v ܡܢ ܣܦܪܗܘܢ "from their scroll".

עותריא כאפרויא לשומה מן שאפתא

the *uthras* wiped out his name from the(ir) scroll.



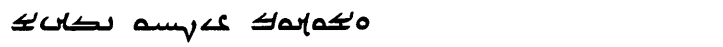
כד רוה ברויתא דשיביאהיא

When he became drunk from the drink of the Planets,



קאם ורקיד ברויתא

he stood up and danced in intoxication.



אבאתאר דנהא ויתב

After he was calm and sat down,



קאם בה דניזאל לדוכתה

he stood up in order to go back to his place.



רוהא עשתאויאת באדמו האוא זאוה דהע אהאתה

Rūha took the form of Hawa, his wife, who is in fact his sister,



וקאמאלה לפאלגא דעוהרא

and approached him half way.



פיריא דזיפא שאויאת

She prepared the bed of deceit,



ושאוית דוכתא דאולא

and created the site of sin.



אריבתינון לעדאניא

She mixed up the times,



וקאמאת ולאגאטה בעדה

and she arose and took him by the hand.

[1126]

כד לגאטתה בעדה

When she took him by the hand,

נאפשיא שאלתה זאניותא

She, herself, asked him to fornicate with her.

בפומה דנימארלה

He desired to kiss (lit. address) her by the mouth,

וניהיבקא בקומתה

and embrace her body.

בשיהא דניסבה לרוינה

In the hot desire that occupied his mind,

מאליל לרוהא דנימארלא

he spoke to Rūha and said:

כד אנאת האוא אהאת

"Since you are my sister Hawa

אנאת תותביך היואריא

and your outfits are white,

מאהו דלאבשית כיתוניא

[1126] not in BL 23599 57v: 14, BL 23600 53v: 17, BL 23601 54v: 7 & BLO 1236: 53v: 17.

why do you wear a skirt,

𐡏𐡓𐡉 𐡏𐡓𐡉 𐡏𐡓𐡅𐡄𐡃 𐡏𐡓𐡅𐡄𐡃𐡓

דַגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

which is so colourful and exciting ?

𐡄𐡊𐡄𐡊 𐡏𐡊𐡏 [1127]𐡒𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡒

קומתאך ארזא ראמא

Your figure is (like) a high cedar,

𐡏𐡊𐡄 𐡀𐡓𐡓𐡄𐡓 𐡒𐡋𐡄𐡊𐡋

לימאליך דַסאיית מיא

why do you to wash with water?

𐡒𐡏𐡓𐡏 𐡏𐡓𐡒𐡅𐡃 𐡒𐡊𐡏𐡄𐡒 𐡀𐡄𐡍𐡏

אנאת שאקיך גופניא איאר

Your thighs are vines of ether,

[1128]𐡄𐡊𐡅𐡅𐡄𐡃 𐡀𐡊𐡄𐡊𐡓𐡓 𐡒𐡋𐡄𐡊𐡋

לימאליך דַראמית דאהבא

why do you wear gold?

𐡒𐡏𐡓𐡏 𐡏𐡓𐡊𐡒 [1129]𐡒𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡒 𐡀𐡄𐡍𐡏

אנאת עבריך כיניא איאר

Your wings (arms) are veils of ether,

𐡄𐡅𐡄𐡅𐡄𐡒 𐡀𐡊𐡄𐡊𐡓𐡓 𐡒𐡋𐡄𐡊𐡋

לימאליך דַראמית כאספא

why do you wear silver?

𐡄𐡊𐡅𐡅𐡄𐡓𐡓 𐡄𐡍𐡄𐡏 𐡒𐡓𐡄𐡄𐡊 𐡀𐡄𐡍𐡏

אנאת רישיך אנאנא דַנהורא

You, your head is a cloud of light,

𐡀𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡄𐡅𐡄 𐡀𐡊𐡓𐡅𐡀𐡓𐡓 𐡒𐡋𐡄𐡊𐡋

לימאליך דַהאיקית וסארקית

[1127] BL 23600 53v: 21 & BLO 1236: 53v: 21 𐡒𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡒 𐡀𐡄𐡍𐡏 𐡅𐡒

[1128] 𐡄𐡊𐡅𐡅𐡄𐡃 in BL 23600: 53v, BLO 1236:53v.

[1129] GRR, p. 137: 22 𐡒𐡊𐡊𐡊𐡒

Why do you wash and comb (yourself)?

ܐܢܐ ܐܝܢܝܟ ܐܝܢܝܐ ܕܙܝܘܐ

אנאת איניך איניא דזיוא

Your eye is an eye of radiance,

ܠܡܐܠܝܟ ܕܟܘܠܐ ܡܐܠܝܐܬܒܗ[1130]

לימאליך דכולא מאליאתבה

why do you fill it with kohl?

(GRR p. 138)

ܐܫܬܥܝܪܐ ܕܣܟܪܐ ܠܢܒܝܗܐ ܘܐܡܪܐܠܗ ܕܟܐܕܒܐ

מאלאלאת ואמראלה לנביהא דכאדבא

She spoke and said to the false prophet,

ܠܫܛܝܐ ܕܗܐܣܝܪ ܘܒܨܝܪ

להאסירא דהאסיר ובציר

to the deficient who is flawed and lowly,

ܫܕܘܟ ܩܠܐܢ ܐܕܡ[1131]

שדוק קאלאן אדאם

"Keep your voice quiet, Adam!

ܠܐܫܬ ܕܥܠܘ[1132] ܕܬܘܪܨܐ ܠܐܗܘܐ

עלאו דתורצא לאהוא

If no inequality there were,

ܐܠܘ ܕܬܘܪܨܐ ܕܠܐܗܘܐ

עלאו דלאהוא תורצא

if there were there no inequality,

ܗܘ ܓܘܒܠܐܢ ܗܕܐ

הדא גובלאן הוא

[1130] BL 23599 57v: 21 & BL 23601 54v: 15 ܕܟܐܕܒܐ ܠܢܒܝܗ. BL 23600 53v: 25 & BLO 1236: 53v: 25 ܕܟܘܠܐ ܠܢܒܝܗ

[1131] BL 23600 53v: 27 & BLO 1236: 53v: 27 ܐܕܡ ܩܠܐܢ ܫܕܘܟ

[1132] BL 23599 57v: 24 & BL 23601 54v: 17 ܐܫܬ

one our nature would be.

ܣܟ̈ܗ ܣܢܗ ܟܢܟܠܗ

הדא הוא גובלאן

One would be our nature,

ܗܝܒ̈ܘܦ ܗܝܟ̈ ܣܟ̈ܗ

והדא מאנא שאוינאן

and as one mana would he have made us both.

[1133]ܗܢܟ̈ܣܗ ܣܢܠ̈ܣܢܗ ܐ̈ܘܦ ܣܦ̈ܗ ܗܝܟ̈ܟ̈ܗ

לתארתינאן האשתא דַלאהוא תורצא

Now, as there is no equality,

ܟ̈ܟ̈ܗ̣ ܗܒ̈ܘܦ ܟ̈ܠܗ

לדילאך שאויך גאברא

You they have made a man,

ܗܒ̈ܘܦ ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܐ̈ܟ̈ܠ

לדיליא ענתא שאויון

and me a woman they have made.

ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܗܒ̈ܘܦ ܐ̈ܟ̈ܠ

לדיליא שאויון ענתא

Me they have made a woman,

ܗܟ̈ܟ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܟ̈ܡ̈ܟ̈ ܟ̈ܗ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܒ̈ܢ

ואתיון קודאמאך אקמון

and brought me and put me before you,

[1134]ܐ̈ܟ̈ܟ̈ܗ̣ ܐ̈ܟ̈ܡ̈ܟ̈ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܐ̈ܟ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܗ̈ ܗ̈ܟ̈ܟ̈ܗ

ואמראליא דַתיתראגאגביא

and said to me that you desire me,

ܣ̈ܟ̈ ܟ̈ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܟ̈ܗ̈ ܟ̈ܟ̈

ומינאך ניבאד צבו

and with you I should have an affair,

[1133] ܗ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ in BL 23601: 54v. ܗ̈ܟ̈ܣ̈ turşa (rt. TRŞ) evenness, equality (MD, p. 484).

[1134] BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3 ܐ̈ܟ̈ܟ̈ܗ̣ܟ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܟ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܗ̈

ܘܡܝܢܐܝܟܘܢ ܢܝܬܝܐܝܐܪ ܐܠܡܐ[1135]

ומינאיכון ניתיאיאר אלמא

and by us the world will be awakened."

ܐ

ܘܟܕ ܩܒܠܬ ܠܗ ܘܢ

כַד ליגטא ונישקא

When he held her and kissed her,

ܘܒܥܐ ܕܝܢܒܐܕ ܡܢܐ ܨܒܘ

ובא דַ ניבאד מינא צבו

and wanted to something with her,

ܐܢܐ ܥܬܐܗܙܝܠܗ ܒܐܢܐܢܐ ܕܙܝܘܐ[1136][1137]

אנא עתאהזילַה באנאנא דַזיוא

I appeared to him in a cloud of radiance,

ܘܐܫܝܡܬܗ ܩܠܐ ܫܐܢܝܐ

ואשימתַה קאלא שאניא

and I made him hear a wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice.

ܩܠܐ ܫܐܢܝܐ ܐܫܝܡܬܗ

קאלא שאניא אשימתַה

A wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice I made him hear,

ܘܪܡܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܒܐ ܡܢ ܣܐܡܟܗ

ורמיתא לליבא מן סאמכַה

and I threw his heart from its support.

ܗܪܫܝܐ ܕܪܘܗܐ ܦܐܫܪܝܬ

הארשיא דַרוהא פאשרית

I undid the spells of Rūha,

[1135] BL 23599 58r: 4, BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3
[1136] The speaker is Manda d-Hiia.
[1137] Anana d-ziwa or anana d-nhura "the cloud of radiance or: of light" frequently appear in gonistic writings as the secret place of 'uthras or angels (Stroumsa, 1984: 36 n. 7).

האויתה דַלאו האוא הואת

I showed him that it was not Hawa (Eve).

ⲥⲁⲩⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲩ

והאויחה דַלאהואת האוא

I showed him that it was not Hawa,

ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲗⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ

והזיא לנאפשיא

he beheld himself,

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲭⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ

ומינא בהית ועתבאהאת

and he felt ashamed of it,

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ

ונאפשה בהאיאביא לגאט

and he recognized himself as guilty.

ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ

נאפשה לגאט בהאיאביא

He recognized himself as guilty,

[1138] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ

אמינטול דַכול דמו סאינא מינה

because all kinds of repulsive thing came from him.

ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ

ולאליגטית כושטא

I did not offer him the *kušṭa*,

ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ

אמינטול דַכאלוזא דַהייא אשניא

because he deviated from the proclamation of the Life.

[1139] ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟ

אשניא לכאלוזא דַהייא

[1138] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ is not found in BL 23600 54r: 9 & BLO 1236: 54r: 9.

[1139] This verse is not found in BL 23600 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 54r: 10.

He deviated from the proclamation of the Life,

ומא דַרביא אמרילַה

and from what the Great One commanded him.

שיבקא לצאותא דַעותריא אהַה

He left the company of his brothers, the *uthras*,

ואזאל צאותא דַשיביאהיא רהים

and went and cherished the society of the Planets.

שיבקַה לצאותא דַהאוא זאוַה

He left the company of his woman, Hawa,

ואזאל נפאל בנורא דַיאקדא

and went (and) fell into the blazing fire.

היזיא לאדוגא דַנורא

He beheld the furnace of fire,

דַכול דַהאזילַה מאיית[1140]

that whoever beholds it (her) dies,

וכול דַמיתכאראכבַה מיתאקליא

and whoever is embraced by her inflames.

כול דַשאהלא ולואתא שאכיב

Whoever undresses and sleeps with her,

[1140] is not found in BL 23600 54r: 14 & BLO 1236: 54r: 14.

ܢܦܝܠ ܒܣܐܘܦܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

נאפיל בסאופא דַאלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

(GRR p. 139)

ܕܥܠܡܐ ܢܦܝܠ ܒܣܐܘܦܐ

בסאופא דַאלמא נאפיל

He will fall into the end of the world,

ܘܥܝܢܗ ܠܐ ܢܚܙܐ ܠܐܗܐܝܐ

ואינהַ נהורא לאהאזיא

and his eyes will never behold the Light.

ܒ

ܒܕܡܘ ܦܐܓܪܐ ܥܕܡܝܬ

בדמו פאגרא עדאמית

I took on a bodily form,

ܘܥܙܠܬ ܣܠܩܝܠܐ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܘܢ

ועזלית סלאקילא לכנישתון

and traveled upwards to their assembly.

ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܗܙܝܐ [1141]ܕܥܠܡܢ

כולהון מיהזיא דַהיזיון

When they all saw me,

ܥܣܬܐܗܦ ܥܠ ܐܢܦܝܗܘܢ ܥܢܦܐܠ

עסתאהאפ על אנפאיהון ענפאל

they were hurled down and fell onto their faces.

ܥܣܬܐܗܦ ܢܦܐܠ ܥܠ ܐܢܦܝܗܘܢ

עסתאהאפ נפאל על אנפאיהון

They were hurled down and fell onto their faces,

ܘܩܐܝܡܝܐ ܠܕܝܠܝܐ ܡܝܕܢܝܐ

וקאימיא לדיליא מידניא

[1141] ܕܥܠܡܢ is not found in BL 23599 58r: 20 & BL 23601 55r: 10.

then, they stood and subjected themselves to me.

ܘܠܟܬܗ ܘܠܟܬܟܬܟ [1142]ܘܟܬܟ

מידניא ומבארכיליא ואמרילא

They subjected themselves (to me), blessed me and said to me:

ܢܘܫܟ ܘܣ ܐܡܘ

אנאת הויא רישאן

"Be our leader,

ܢܟܬܗܟܘ ܢܟ ܘܣܟ ܢܟܘ

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers.

ܢܟܬܘ ܐܠܥܕ ܫܟ ܢܘܫܟ ܢܠܣ ܐܡܘ

אנאת הוילאן רישאן וריש זַכולַה אלמאן

Be our leader and the head of our entire world.

ܘܫܟ ܢܠܣ ܐܡܘ

אנאת הוילאן רישא

Be our leader,

[1143]ܢܟܬܗܟܘ ܢܟ ܘܣܟ ܢܟܘ

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers

ܟܣܘ ܘܥܫܟ ܐܡܘ ܘܘܟܬܟ ܣܟ

רוהא בראבותא אנאת בענשיא אותבא

Place Rūha, in her majesty, amongst your women.

ܘܥܫܟ ܟܣܘ ܐܡܘ

אנאת אותבא בענשיא

Place her amongst your women,

ܟܬܘ ܢܥܣ ܘܫܟ ܢܠܣ ܐܡܘ

ואנאת הוילאן רישא בהיזין אלמא

and be our leader in this world."

[1142] ܘܟܬܟ is not found in the other four manuscripts.

[1143] This verse and the above two verses not found in the other manuscrips.

ܟ

ܟܕ ܐܝܙܝܢ ܐܡܪܠܝܐ ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ[1144]

When the Planets spoke thus to me,

ܐܢܐ ܐܣܒܪܝܬ ܘܓܝܗܟܝܬ ܥܠ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

אנא אסברית וגיהכית על כולהון

I mocked and laughed at all of them.

ܡܠܐܠܝܬ ܕܥܡܪܠܘܢ ܠܫܘܒܐ ܕܐܓܙܐܪ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ

I spoke to the Seven, who condemned themselves, and said:

ܥܘ ܒܐܝܬܘܢ ܕܥܗܘܝܐ ܪܝܫܐܝܟܘܢ

"If you want me to be your leader,

ܘܪܘܗܐ ܒܐܝܬܘܢ ܕܥܝܐܬܒܐ ܒܥܢܫܝܐ

and place Rūha amongst my women,

ܩܘܡ ܠܦܘܪܐܝܟܘܢ ܒܘܙܘܝܐ

arise and disengage your feast.

ܩܘܡ ܘܫܘܒܩܘ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܐܝܟܘܢ

Arise and leave your assembly

ܘܐܡܪܘܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܪܐܙܐܝܟܘܢ

and tell me your mystery,

ܘܓܐܠܘܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܐܠܐܠܟܘܢ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ

and reveal to me all your words."

[1144] In BL 23601 55r: 15 we read: ܐܟܠܘ ܝܗܘܪ ܕܝܘܠܛܝܩ ܐܡܪܠܝܐ ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

ס

כד יאתבנא בינאתאיהון

When I sat amongst them,

ליגטית נסאבתינון לראזאיהון

I took away their secrets,

ועתבארבה באלבושאי דאכיא

and I shone in my pure garment,

דנפאש וסאכא ליתלה

which is so vast and boundless.

גאלילתינון לראזאיהון

I exposed their mystery,

[1145] וכאדיבתינון למימרון

and discredited their speech.

[1146] למימרון כאדיבתינון

I discredited their speech,

וכאדיבתינין לעומאמאתון

and I belied their oaths,

[1145] In BL 23599 58v: 13 we read: . In BL 23600 54v: 3, BL 23601 55r: 24 & BLO 1236: 54v: 3 we read: .

[1146] In BL 23599 58v: 14 & BL 23601 55r: 25 we read: . In BL 23600 54v: 4 & BLO 1236: 54v: 4 we read: .

דַעמומון בטור כארימלא

which they took on mount Carmel

ܐܪܡܠܝܟ ܒܛܘܪ ܡܘܡܥܕ

רוהא רמאיתא מן כורסיא

I threw Rūha off her throne,

ܐܝܣܪܘܟ ܡܢ ܬܪܡܝܬܐ ܪܘܚܐ

וזאמתא זמאמא דַגומלא

and I held her back with a camel-bridle.

[1147]ܓܡܠܐ ܙܡܡܐ ܬܐܡܙ ܘܐ

שדית בקולפאי מוהאיתא

I threw down and struck her with my scourge,

ܐܝܬܗ ܘܟܠܦܐ ܒܩܠ ܬܕܝܫ

ופלאגילא בריש פלוגתא

and I split her head open.

ܐܬܓܠܦ ܪܫ ܒܪܫ ܐܦܠܦ

רכאשתא בגדוליאתא

I bound her by her tresses,

[1148]ܐܬܪ ܒܓܕܘܠܝܐ ܒܪܟܐ

ואסארתא באלבאב שומיא

and I tied her up to the heart of the heavens.

(GRR p. 140)

ܠܓܐܛܬܗ ܒܪܐܙܝܐ ܫܡܝܫ

שאמיש בראזיא לגאטתה

I grasped Šamiš by the secret things (genitals),

ܐܢܫ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ

ושאויתה כד ענתא

and I made him just like a woman.

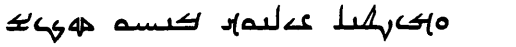
ܐܢܫ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ

[1147] In BL 23600 54v: 6 & BLO 1236: 54v: 6 we read: ܓܡܠܐ ܐܢܣܪ.

[1148] In BL 23600 54v: 7 we read: ܐܬܪ ܒܓܕܘܠܝ

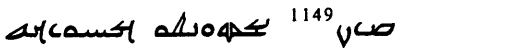
כד ענתא שאויתה ליורבא

I made Yorba just like a woman,



אמינטול דלואת רוהא שכיב

because he slept with Rūha.



סין בשאוטא מהאיתה

As for Sin, I struck him with my scourge,



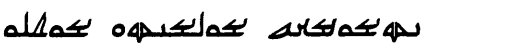
ואשלית נסאבתה לילבושיא

and I undressed him and took away his clothes.



לילבושיא נסאבתה מינה

I took away his clothes,



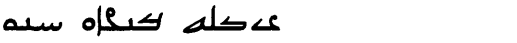
ושבאקתה באלבושא באטלא

and I left him behind in a vain garment.



ושבאקתה באלבושא עשאתא עכילתא

I left him behind in the garment of the devouring flame,



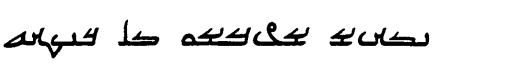
דעלה רוגזא הוא

wrath of which overwhelmed him.



עלה הוא רוגזא

Wrath overwhelmed him



ועתיב בגירבא על דוכתה

[1149] Sin: Moon, moon god (MD p. 327)

and he retired in leprosy to his place.

[1150]ܐܣܝ [1151]ܢܒܘ ܬܝܒܪܝܬ

פיסניא דַנבו תיברית

I broke Nabu's reed pipe,

[1152]ܐܪܙܝܢܐ ܒܥܕܗ ܘܬܝܒܪܝܬ

ותיברית בעדהַ הארזינהַ

and I destroyed the amulet in his hand.

ܓܠܝܠܬܝܢܝܢ ܠܫܝܛܘܬܗ

גאלילתינין לשיטואתהַ

I revealed his shameful parts (or: nudity),

ܘܐܘܝܬܗ [1153]ܓܒܪܬܗ ܒܐܠܡܐ

והאויתהַ גבארתהַ באלמא

and I displayed his male organs to the world.

[1154]ܥܡܝܠܐ ܠܕܘܡܝܐ

עומילהַ לדומאיא

I adjured the wicked Edomite(?)

ܕܐܠܡܝܬܗܙܝܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܒܐܠܡܐ

דַלאמיתאהזיא דמותהַ באלמא

that his image not to be seen in the world.

[1156]ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܝܫܐ [1155]ܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ

[1150] In BL 23599 59r: 3, BL 23601 55v: 9 & BLO 1236: 54v: 14 we read: ܐܣܝ. In BL 23600 54v: 14 we read: ܐܣܝ

[1151] *nbu* or *'nbu*: (Bab. Nabu) Nebo, the planet Mercury (MD p. 287). "Babil had a reputation as the place where the Planet Mercury (Nabu or Tir) was bound and as the earthly location of the "houses" of the planets and the signs of the zodiac" (Cited form Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist* by Morony, 1984: 392).

[1152] ܐܪܙܝܢܐ (הארזינא) احراز ،حروز amulet. The Hans Wehr Arabic-English *Dict.* p. 167.

[1153] In BL 23599 59r: 4 & BL 23601 55v: 10 we read: ܐܒܪܬܗ. In BL 23600 54v: 15 & BLO 1236: 54v: 15 we read: ܐܒܪܬܗ

[1154] In BL 23600 54v: 15 we read: ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܥܡܝܠܐ "the wicked Edomite". The *dumaiia* are probably the Idumaeans or Edomites, as suggested by Drower. (For more about the *domaia* or Edomites see Drower, *Diwan Abatur*, 1950, Appendix. II).

[1155] In the other four manuscripts we read: ܠܐ.

[1156] ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܝܫܐ (כוכבא בישא) Mercury in the Jewish literature (See Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 132 n. 10).

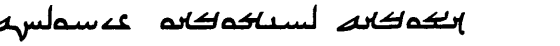
לגאטתה לכוכבא בישא

I seized the evil planet.



סהאפתה ורמאיתה מן כורסיא

I hurled him down and threw him off his throne.



תבארתה להומארתא דהאלצה

I broke his backbone,



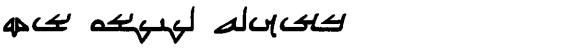
ושאויתה דשיטואתא באלמא

and I made him despicable in the world.



תבארתה ומשאיתה ואתיבתה בכאסיא

I broke him, stretched him out and placed him in isolation.



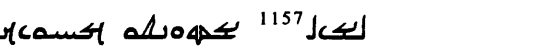
רמיתילה לכוכבא בישא

I hurled down the evil star,



דלאניהוילה זידא באלמא

so no malice will afflict the world.



לביל בשאוטא מהאיתא

As for Bel, I struck him with the scourge,



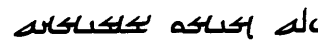
ותאגא מן רישיא שיקלית

and I removed the crown from his head.

תאגא שאקלית מן רישיא

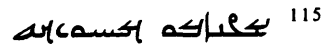
[1157] Bel (god), Jupiter (planet) (MD p. 60).

I removed the crown from his head,



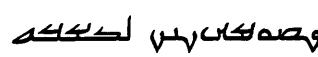
ושאוילה מאמא בקומתה

and I incurred blemish to his body.



לניריג בגוזרא מהאיתה

I smote Nirig with a mace,



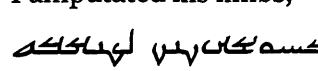
ופסאקתינון לעברה

and I amputated his limbs.



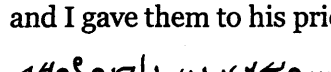
לעברה פסאקתינון

I amputated his limbs,



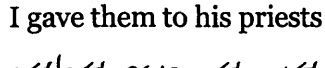
ועהאבתינון לכומרה

and I gave them to his priests.



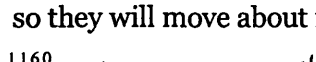
לכומרה עהאבתינון ולסאגאדה

I gave them to his priests and his worshipers,



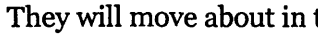
דניסיהרון בצאויא באלמא

so they will move about in the wilderness of the world.



באלהא דניסיהרון

They will move about in the world,



וניהאוון שיטואתא באלמא

1158 Nirig (Bab. Nirgallu) the planet Mars (MD P. 299).

1159 *kumra*, priest (not mandaean), not in BL 23600 54v: 22 & BLO 1236: 54v: 23.

1160 Read:

and they will show their follies to the world.

ܐܒܐܕܝܒܘܢ ܒܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

אבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ܕܥܠ ܫܘܪܒܐܬܐ ܕ ܗܝܝܐ ܡܝܬܪܐܘܪܝܒܝܐ

דַעל שורבאתא דַ הייא מיתראוריביא

who became arrogant towards the family of Life.

[1161]ܐܒܝܕܝܒܘܢ ܒܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

אבידיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ܕܪܡܝܒܘܢ ܒܝܙܬܐ

דַרמיבון ביזתא

whom I accused of plundering.

ܒܝܙܬܐ ܪܡܝܒܘܢ

ביזתא רמיבון

I accused them of plundering,

(GRR p. 141)

ܘܗܐܝܬ ܫܝܛܘܬܗܘܢ[1162] ܒܐܠܡܐ

והאוית שיטואתון באלמא

and I exposed their follies to the world.

ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܐܒܐܕܝܒܘܢ ܒܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

מא דַאבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

What I did to the Planets,

ܗܝܢܘܢ ܢܝܒܐܕܝܒܘܢ ܒܟܘܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܘܣܐܓܐܕܘܢ

הינון ניבאדיבון בכומראיהון וסאגאדון

they will do to their priests and worshipers,

ܕܠܐܢܝܗܘܢ ܒܐܠܡܐ

דַלאניהון באלמא

[1161] In BL 23600 54v: 25 & BLO 1236: 54v: 25 we read: ܒܫܝܒܝܐ

[1162] In BL 23599 59r: 16 & BL 23601 55v: 23 we read: ܗܘܐܝܬ

and they will disappear from the world.[1163]

כַּד אתית לואת אדאם

When I drew near Adam,

[1164]ואמארילַה האויתאך בראדופאך

I said to him: "I showed you your persecutors.

בראדופאך האויתאך

I showed you your persecutors,

[1165]כשארבא בישא דַמיתגאטלַה

the evil race, who deserve to be killed.

כולהון כומרון וסאגאדון

All their priests and worshipers,

הינון באבדיא ניהוילאך

will become your slaves.

הינון ניהון באבדיא

They will become your slaves,

[1163] Cf. Marduk who bound, by his magic seal, the seven stars and the twelve signs of the zodiacs. (Morony, 1984: 392) Morony also states: "By the end of the Sasanian period, paganism in Iraq was characterized by sacrifice, magic and astrology. The ancient native deities survived and were venerated mainly because of their association with the planets in astrology and with imported Hellenistic and Iranian gods. But even among pagans, the old gods were being relegated to the position of demons. This was probably due to the influence of Gnosticism, which emphasized the harmful aspect of the planets in astral paganism" (Ibid 394).

[1164] BL 23601 55v: 26 we read: 

[1165] is not in BL 23601: 55v.



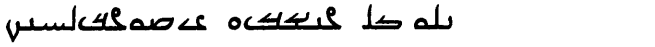
וניש תמולאך מן ריש בריש

and they will be obedient to you totally.



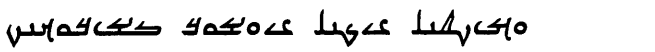
מאטותא לאניהויא על שיביאהיא כולהון

There will be no clemency to all the planets,



ולא על גובריא דַסאגדילהון

nor to the men who worshiped them.



אמינטול דַכול דַאבאד עבידאתון

Because anyone who performs their rites,



לאמיתאכשאר לאתאר נהור

will not be worthy of the place of Light.



אנא דַעזלית לבית הייא

If I go the House of the Life,



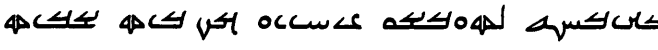
עשאויא ועתאקנה לאלמא

I will create the world and put it in a perfect order.



עיאסקה לשירשאיון

I will raise their roots (to the summit),



ועתירצה לשארבא דַהייא מן ריש בריש

and I will confirm the Family of the Life for eternity.



כד שובא פאליג מאלואשיא

When the Seven allotted the destinies,



עתיקניסלה מותא לאלמא

the world was doomed by death.



מותא לאלמא עתיקניסלה

The world was doomed by death,



לנישמאתא דגובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא

Yet, the souls of the true and faithful men



ודענשיא שאלמאניאתא

and (the souls) of the complete women,



סאלקיא האזילה לאתאר נהור

will ascend and behold the place of Light.



נישמאתא דשיביאהיא

But the souls of the Planets



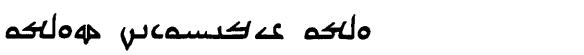
במאטאראתון מיתיסרא

will be detained in their purgatory.



מיתיסרא במאטאראתון

Their souls will be detained in their purgatory,



אלמא דרוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield (or: their lives come to an end)



ומאיתיא ודאיכיא כד דלאהון

and die and vanish, as if they were never existed.

ܕ

ܟܬܫ ܙܩܝܩܪ ܘܟܬܘ

באביא דַקראת רוהא

The sects (doors) that Rūha created,

[1166]ܕܟܬܝܒ ܕܐܡܝܠܬܐ

מאסטיאנתא דַכאדבא

(Rūha) the seducer of lies,

ܟܬܫ ܙܩܝܩܪ ܘܟܬܘ

באביא דַקראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ܘܟܬܒܝܢ ܟܬܫ ܒܝܠܗ

כולהון בהירבא מיתנאסביא

will be taken all by the sword.

ܟܬܫ ܙܩܝܩܪ ܘܟܬܘ

באביא דַקראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ܘܟܬܘ ܟܬܒܣ ܟܬܪ ܠܥ

כול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

the whole day they sit with fasting.

ܟܬܒܣ ܘܟܬܘ ܟܬܪ ܠܥ

כול יומא יאתביא בצאומא

They sit fasting the whole day,

(GRR p. 142)

ܘܟܬܘ ܘܠܟܬ ܟܬܪ ܠܥ

וכול יומא במאליא יאתביא

and the whole day they sit with lamentation,

ܟܬܠ ܒܟܬܫ ܟܬܠ

[1166] This line is not in BL 23601 56r: 15.

אלמא דַרוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield.

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܪܘܗܐܝܘܢ ܫܐܠܡܐ

כַד שאלימלון כילאיון

When their measures are full (or: their lives come to an end),

ܟܕ ܫܐܠܝܡܠܘܢ ܟܝܠܐܝܘܢ

מאזברילון אנפאיון לאתאר השוך

they will turn their faces towards the Place of Darkness.

܀

ܒܐܒܝܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܡܫܝܗܐ

As for the sects that *mšiha* "Messiah" produced,

ܟܐܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܕܐܝܐ ܡܟܐܕܒܝܐ

they all belie each other.

ܟܐܠܗܘܢ ܡܟܐܕܒܝܐ ܠܗܕܐܝܐ

They all belie each other,

ובהאד מאמלא לאקאימיא

and they do not stick to one opinion. (lit. to one word)

ܘܒܗܐܕ ܡܐܡܠܐ ܠܐܩܐܝܡܝܐ

לאקאימיא בהאד מאמלא

they do not stick to one opinion,

אמינטול דַמן קריתא דַשיקרא הון

because they come into being from a deceitful creation.

הו אפיכלון למאלאליא

He perverts the speeches,

ܫܛܝܛܝܐ ܪܐܡܝܒܗ ܒܐܠܡܐ

ושיטיא ראמיבה באלמא

and casts folly into the world.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܫܐܛܝܐ ܡܫܝܗܐ

שיטיא דשאטיא משיהא

The abominations which *mšiha* "Messiah " commits,

ܟܠܗ ܡܝܣܐܦ ܣܐܝܦ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ

כולה מיסאף סאייף ליומא דסוף

will all end on the day of the end.

ܒܐܒܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܫܐܡܝܫ

באבא דקרא שאמיש

From the sect which Šamiš created,

ܕܐܕܘܢܝ ܩܐܪܝܠܗ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܡܝܐ

דאדונאי קאריל̈ה כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds called Adoni.[1167]

ܒܐܒܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܐܕܘܢܝ

באבא דקרא אדונאי

From the sect that Adonai created,

ܐܡܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܣܪܐܝܝܠ ܟܘܠܗ ܡܝܢܗ[1168] ܢܦܩ

אמא דבית סראייל כולה מינה נפאק

the whole people of Israel came into being.

ܡܢ ܐܡܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܣܪܐܝܝܠ

מן אמא דבית סראייל

From the people of Israel,

[1167] The Mandaeans identified Šamiš (the sun god) with Adonai as a result of the mutual enmity between the Naṣoraeans and the Jews during the first century B.C.E (for more on this subject see Drower, Mandaean Polemic, BSOAS, 1962).

[1168] BL 23599 59v: 22 & BL 23601 56v: 3 ܣܪܐܝܝܠ (עסראייל).

ڕڪسڕ ٥ڕڪەڕ لسڪەڕ ەڪڪڕ

דַעדא להדאדיא מהון

who slap each other by the hand.

٥ڕڪەڪسڕ ڕڪسڕ ەڪڪ

עדא מהון ביהדאדיא

They slap each other by the hand,

٥ڕڪڪ ڪڕڕەسەڕڕڪ سڕڪد

וצבו דַלאהאייב אבדיא

and they do something unseemly.

ڪڕڕەسەڕڕ ٥ڕڪڪ ٥ڕڪڪ سڕڪد

צבו אבדיא דַלאהאייב

They do something unseemly,

[1169]ڕڪصڕ ڕصڕ ڪڪڪ ٥ڕڪڕەصەڕ ڕڪصەڕ

ומיסאף סאייף ליומא דַסוף

and they will end on the day of the end.

ڕ

٥ڕەڪڪسەڕ ڕڪڪ ٥ڕڪ

מן אמא דַיאהוטאיא

From the people of the *yahuṭaia* "Jews"

ڪەڕڕ ڕسڕەڕڕڕ ٥ڕڪەڪ ڕڪسڕ

כולהון באביא מינאיהון נפאק

all sects (lit: gates) came forth.

[1170]٥ڕڕەڪڪ|٥ڕڕ ڕڪڪ ڪەڕڕ

נפאק אמא דַיאזוקאייא

The people of Yazuqaians came forth,

٥ڕڪڪسەڕڕ ڕڪڪڕ ٥ڕڕڕ

[1169] BL 23600 55r: 27 & BLO 1236: 55r: 27 ڕڪصڕ ڕڪڪ ڪڪڪ "on the great day of the end (or: destruction)".

[1170] Fire-worshipers (etym. doubtf.) (MD, p. 185). In the CP *iazuqaeans* reverence fire. They are mentioned along with *kiwanaiia*, *idumaeans* and *zandiqs* (Manicheans?) as blasphemous peoples (CP, p. 251).

שיטיא דַנורא מאוקריא

the scornful who worship fire.

שאטיא דַמאוקריא נורא

The scornful who worship fire,

דַמן דמותהּ דַלבושא דַמשיהא הון

came forth from the likeness of the garment of *mšiha* "Messiah".

סאיפיא יאזוקאייא

The Yazuqaians shall take an end,

וסאיפיא בקאלאיהון שאמיא

and those who listen to their calls.

באבא דַקרא אגזיעיל[1171]

The sect that Agz'il created,

דַסין קארילהּ כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds called Sin.

סין כולהון אלמיא קארילהּ

All the worlds called him Sin,

אמינטול דַסאינא דמותהּ בכול אתאר

because his ugly image was every where.

[1171] *agz'il* a byname of Sin (the moon) (MD p. 5)

סין דַקרא באבא

The sect that Sin created,

ܕܟܘܠ ܟܝܒܝܐ ܘܢܛܝܛܝܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘܢ

דַכול כיביא ונטיטיא מינהַ הון

all pains and infirmities came forth from them.

(GRR p. 143)

ܐܪܫܝܐ ܘܦܘܕܪܝܐ ܕܟܘܠ

דַכול הארשיא ופודריא יאתביא

Those who perform witchcraft and sorcery (lit: sit on witchcraft and sorcery)

ܗܝܢܢ ܐܦܟܝܐ ܠܝܠܒܝܐ

הינון אפכיא לילביא

twist the hearts,

ܘܗܝܢܢ ܡܟܫܠܝܐ ܟܫܝܠܝܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

והינון מאכשליא כשיליא באלמא

and put stumbling-blocks into the world.

ܟܠ ܕܫܐܡܥ ܫܘܡܥܝܗܘܢ

כול דַשאמא שומאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

ܢܦܠ ܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

נאפיל בסאופא דַאלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

ܟ

ܟܝܘܢ ܕܩܪܐ ܒܐܒܐ

כיואן דַקרא באבא

The cult (gate) that Kiwan found,

ܕܟܘܠ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܕܣܝܡ

1172 ܘܕܪܦܐ not in BL 23601 56v: 14

1173 In BL 23600 55v: 8 & BLO 1236: 55v: 8 we read:

ܢܦܠ ܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܟܠ ܕܫܡܥ ܫܘܡܥܝܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܕܣܝܡ

1174 *Kiwan* Saturn, star of Saturday, god of the Jews. (MD, p. 212) The old Persian religion considered Saturn as the planet of death (Zaehner, 1955: 160).

ליומיא ושאייא דאהליא

fears the days and the hours.

[1175]ܐܠܥܘܡܐ ܘܫܥܝܐ ܕܐܙܠܝܐ

ליומא דאהליא ושאייא

Fears the days and the hours,

ܐܟܬܒܐ [1176]ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܒܨܥܘܡܐ ܝܬܒܝܐ

וכול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

(therefore), they sit the whole days fasting.

ܒܨܥܘܡܐ ܐܟܬܒܐ ܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܝܬܒܝܐ

כול יום יאתביא בצאומא

They sit the whole day in fasting,

ܘܡܐܢܒܝܐ ܢܒܝܗܝܐ ܕܟܐܕܒܐ ܗܘܢ

ומאנביא נביהיא דַכאדבא הון

and produce prophets of lying.

ܙܥܐܝܡܝܐ ܘܙܥܐܝܡܬܐ

צאיאמיא וצאיאמאתא

Their male and female ascetics

ܐܟܬܒܐ [1177]ܥܠ ܫܩܪܐ ܝܬܒܝܐ

דַעל שיקרא יאתביא

sit upon falsehood.

ܫܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܟܬܒܐ ܗܝܢ

הינון יאתביא על שיקרא

They sit upon falsehood,

ܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܘܨܪܝܗܘܢ ܗܝܢ ܘܡܐܢܒܝܐ

ומאנביא הוכמתא מן עוצראיהון הינון

and produce (false) wisdom from their (weak) minds.

[1175] not in BL 23600 55v: 10.

[1176] ܟܠ in BL 23601: 56v.

[1177] BL 23600 55v: 12 & BLO 1236: 55v: 12 ܫܩܪܐ

ופתוליא וקאדישיא כולהון

Those who are celibates and "saints"

מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא דַסוף

will all end on the day of end.[1178]

מאן דַשאמא שותאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

לאהאזילה לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

באבא דַקרא אנגיעיל

The sect that Angi'il found,

דַביל קארילה כולהון אלמיא

Angi'il whom all the worlds call Bel.

באבא דַקרא ביל

From the sect that Bel found,

כולהון סינגיאניא וארדאייא מינה הון

came out all the potentates and dignitaries.

מינה הון כולהון סינגיאניא וארדאייא

[1178] Cf. the baptized Marcionites who were common in the upper Mesopotamia during the fourth and fifth centuries. They remained pure through celibacy and continual fasting and excessive prayers (Morony, 1984: 402).

[1179] BL 23599 60r: 16 & BL 23601 56v: 22

[1180] *ang'il* a name given to Bel-Jupiter (MD, p. 25).

The potentates and dignitaries who came out therefrom,

ܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ

דַ על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority over wrath in the Tibil.

ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܘܟܠ ܝܘܡ

כול יום וכול יומא

Every single day,

ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܡܐܪܕܐ[1181] ܝܬܒܝܢ

על כורסיא דַמארדא יאתביא

they sit on the throne of rebellion.

ܦܟܪܝܢ ܒܥܢܓܪܝܢ ܘܡܢܝܗܝܢ ܘܡܫܐܠܝܢ

פאכריא כאדשיא ונאנגריא ומאניהיא ומשאיליא

They fetter, beat, torture, restrain and interrogate

ܒܪܝܫ ܠܐܒܝܕܠܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܐܪܗܡܝܬܘܢ

אבידלַה לראהמיתון אלאמאסיקלַה לריש בריש

(whoever) works for their charity and fails to fulfill.

ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܘܡܢܐ ܕܫܩܐ

מאהילַה בשאוטא גילדיא

They scourge him with leathern lashes.

ܒܫܘܛܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܢܓܪܝܢ

בשאוטא דַנורא מיתנאנגריא

He will be flogged with a scourge of fire.

ܕܡܫܟܝܢ ܘܡܬܠܝܢ ܘܡܥܠܝܢ

דַראכשיא וזאימיא ותאלין

Those who harness, restrain and hang up,

ܠܐ ܢܚܙܘܢ ܐܬܪ ܢܗܘܪ

לאהאזילַה לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

[1181] BL 23600 55v: 19 & BLO 1236: 55v: 19 ܕܡܪܕܐ

ڕەڵەوەکە[1182] ەڵەوەڕ

דַשאטיא בשאטואתון

He who acts in their foolish ways,

ەڵەڵ ەکەکەش ڵڕەڕ

נאפיל ומיקרא ליתלה̲

will fall and there will be no rising for him.

ەکەکڕ ەڵەڵ ڵڕەڕ

נאפיל וליתלה̲ מיקרא

He will fall and there will be no rising for him,

ڤەصڕ ەکەڵ ڤڕەصڤ ەصڕ

מיסאף סאייף ליומא דַסוף

He will end on the day of the end.

ڤ

[1183]ڤڕڕ ەکەڕ ەکەکە

באבא דַקרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ەڕکەڕش ەکەڤڕکە ەڵەڵ

כולה̲ בכאדבא עמיקריא

it was all created with deception.

ەکەڤڕکە ەڕکەڕش ەڵەڵ

כולה̲ עמיקריא בכאדבא

It was all created with deception,

ەکەڵەکە ەڕەڕکە ەڕکەصەسە

וסאהריא בצאויא באלמא

and their demons move about in the wilderness of the world.

ەڕکەسە صەکەڵەکە ەڕەڕکە

סאהריא באלמא בצאויא

[1182] ڕەڵەڤ in BL 23601: 57r.

[1183] *nirig*, *n'rig* (<Bab. Nīrgallu, H. נרגל) the planet Mars, identified with Muhammad and regarded as a symbol of the Arabs. (MD, 229)

Their demons move about in the wilderness of the world,

(GRR p. 144)

ܡܫܠܡ ܫܝܛܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ

ומהאוין שיטואתון באלמא

and they show their foolishness to the world.

ܗܘ ܗܘܡܪܐ[1184] ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢܗ

הומריא דַנאפקיא מינה

The *humras* who came out from him,

ܗܘ ܫܠܝܛ ܒܬܝܒܝܠ ܡܫܐܠܛܝܐ ܥܠ ܪܘܓܙܐ

דַעל רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority upon the wrath in the Tibil.

ܡܩܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ

הינון גאטליא גיטלא

They commit murder,

ܘܡ ܗܘ ܕܡ

והינון אשדיא זמא

and they shed blood.

ܗܘ ܕܩܪܝܢ

הו דַקרינון

The one who summoned them,

ܐܙܝܠ ܒܪܫܐ ܕܬܓܪܐ

אזיל ברישא דַתיגרא

strides at the head of the war troops.

ܐܙܝܠ ܒܪܫܐ ܕܬܓܪܐ

ברישא דַתיגרא אזיל

He strides at the head of the war troops,

ܠܡܫܐܕ ܙܡܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

למישאד זמא באלמא

[1184] *humra* or *humarta* (amulet-) spirit (MD p. 135).

and he sheds blood in the world.

ܝܘܡܐ ܕܓܐܛܠܐ ܓܐܛܝܠ

יומא דַגאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a slaying,

ܗܐܕܝܐ ܒܓܐܛܠܐ ܡܢ ܛܐܒܬܐ

האדיא בגאטלא מן טאבתא

he enjoys the slaying more than good deed.

ܝܘܡܐ ܕܓܐܛܠܐ ܓܐܛܝܠ

יומא דַגאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a murder,

ܡܐܡܠܝܠ ܘܓܐܗܝܟ ܡܢ ܥܘܨܪܗ[1185]

מאמליל וגאהיך מן עוצרה

he chatters and laughs from his heart.

ܝܘܡܐ ܕܓܐܛܠܐ ܠܐܓܐܛܝܠ

יומא דַגאטלא לאגאטיל

On the day which does not commit murder,

ܒܡܪܐܪܝܐ ܨܒܥܝܐ ܩܘܡܬܗ[1186]

במראריא צבעיא קומתה

his body is dyed with bitter herbs.

ܒܐܒܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܢܝܪܝܓ

באבא דַקרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ܡܝܣܐܦ ܣܐܝܝܦ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ

מיסאף סאייף ליומא דַסוף

will end on the day of the End.

ܐܦܪܝܫܬܝܢܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܫܝܒܝܐܗܝܐ

אפרישתינכון על שיביאהיא

[1185] ܡܐܡܠܝܠ not in BL 23599 60v: 8 & BL 23601 57r: 13.

[1186] ܡܘܪܪܐܝܪ *mūrrair* a strongly bitter herb which grows in southern Iraq.

I explained to you about the Planets,

ܥܠ ܐܒܐ ܕܩܪܘܢ ܒܐܠܡܐ

ועל באבא דַקרון באלמא

and about the sects (gates) which they created in the world.

ܐܦܪܝܫܬܝܢܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܥܒܝܕܐܬܘܢ

אפרישתינכון על עבידאתון

I explained to you their works.

ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܒܗܘܣܪܐܢܐ ܥܬܩܪܝܐ

כולהון בהוסראנא עתקריא

They were all created with flaw.

ܥܬܩܪܝܐ[1187] ܒܗܘܣܪܐܢܐ

עתקריא בהוסראנא

They were created with flaw,

ܣܝܢܐ ܩܝܢܐ ܘܦܠܘܓܐ

סינא קינא ופלוגא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

ܐܦܪܫܬܝܢܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܪܐܙܝܐ ܕܫܘܒܐ

אפרישתינכון על ראזיא דַשובא

I explained to you about the secrets of the Seven (planets),

ܐܦܪܫܬܝܢܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܬܪܝܣܐܪ ܟܘܟܒܝܐ

ואפרישתינכון על תריסאר כוכביא

and I explained to you about the Twelve stars

ܕܗܐܠܝܢ ܦܐܠܐܓܬܐ ܦܠܝܓܝܘܢ

דַהאזין פאלאגתא פאליגיון

who made this division.

ܠܢܦܫܗܝܬܗܘܢ ܗܝܢܘܢ ܦܠܝܓ[1188] ܕܦܠܝܓܝܘܢ ܗܝܢ ܟܕ

כדַ פאליגיון הינון פאליג לנאפשאיהון

When they carried out the division, they allotted (the shares) to themselves.

[1187] BL 23600 56r: 6 & BLO 1236: 56r: ܥܬܩܪܝܐ ܒܗܘܣܪܐܢܐ

[1188] ܗܝܢ not in BL 23601: 57r.

כד מנאתא לעמברא פלאגה

When they allotted Aries a share,

שאוילה שנע במיניאנא פלאגלה

they allotted him a number of years

מנאתא תריסאר אלפיא שניא

totaling twelve thousand years.

לתאורא פלאגלה שניא[1189]

They allotted Taurus a share

במיניאנא הידיסאר אלפיא שניא

totaling eleven thousand years.

כד מנאתא לצילמיא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Gemini a share

במיניאנא אסרא אלפיא שניא

totaling ten thousand years.

כד מנאתא לסארטאנא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Cancer a share

במיניאנא תשא אלפיא שניא[1190]

totaling nine thousand years.

[1189] BL 23600 56r: 10 & BLO 1236: 56r: 10 לתאורא פלאגלה שניא

[1190] BL 23600 56r: 12 & BLO 1236: 56r: 12 תשא.



כַד מנאתא לאריא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Leo a portion



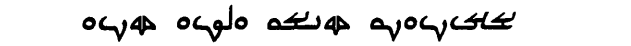
במיניאנא תמאניא אלפיא שניא

totaling eight thousand years.



כַד מנאתא לשומבילתא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Virgo a share



במיניאנא שובא אלפיא שניא

totaling seven thousand years.



כַד מנאתא לקאינא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted to Libra a share

(GRR p. 145)



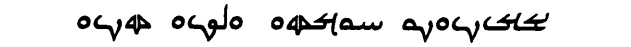
במיניאנא שיתא אלפיא שניא

totaling six thousand years.



כַד מנאתא לארקבא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Scorpio a share



במיניאנא האמשא אלפיא שניא

totaling five thousand years.



כַד מנאתא להיטיא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Sagittarius a share



במיניאנא ארבא אלפיא שניא

totaling four thousand years.

כַד מנאתא לגדיא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Capricorn a share

במיניאנא תלאתא אלפיא שניא

totaling three thousand years.

כַד מנאתא לדאולא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Aquarius a share

במיניאנא תרין אלפיא שניא

totaling two thousand years.

כַד מנאתא לנונא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Pisces a share

במיניאנא הדא אלפא שניא

totaling one thousand years.

כַד פאליג שנאיון

When they distributed their years,

שאון דמותון באלמא

they produced their images to the world.

ואמריא

Then they said:

ڕۆژگاری ئەڤڕۆکێ

דַנאפשיא נאשכונה

"We will find by ourselves

ههه ههه لێ ههلهل

לאלמא כול הדא הדא

the whole world one by one.

[1191]هەڵ ڕەسەڵ ئەڤڕۆکێ

ניקריא תריסאר קילא

We will utter twelve voices,

ئێوارێ ئەسڕارێ ئاڵا ڕەسەڵێ

דַתריסאר דמו מינאיהון ניפאק

hence twelve appearances will come forth from them."

هەڵەڵ هەڵێ هەڵ

קאלא דַקרא עמברא

From the voice that Aries uttered,

ئێسڕ هەوارەسە ڕۆژ هەسێ

דַהאויא מינה היואנאתא כולהון

all creatures came to being.

[1192]هەوارەسە ئەسڕ هەسە

האויא כולהון היואניאתא

All the creatures that came to being,

سنە هەڤ ڵێ هەڵەڵ ئەڵەڵێ

דַקאיאיון בקאלא בישא הוא

their voice came to being by the evil call.

ڕەڕەوێ هەڤ ڵێ هەڵەڵ

בקאלא בישא דַאמאר

[1191] هەڵ not in BL 23599 61r: 8 & BL 23601 57v: 12.

[1192] BL 23600 56r: 26 & BLO 1236: 56r: 26 ئەڵەڵێ ڕۆژ هەوارەسە.

By the evil call which said:

ܡܢܐܬܐ ܬܝܗܘܝܠܝܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

מנאתא תיהויליא באלמא

"A portion of this world should be mine."

ܩܝܠܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܬܐܘܪܐ

קילא דַקרא תאורא

From the call which Taurus uttered,

ܟܠ ܕܡܘ ܗܝܘܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘܐ

כול דמו היוא בישא מינהַ הוא

all evil forms came forth.

ܐܘܝܢ ܡܝܢܝ ܗܝܘܐ ܒܝܫܐ

האוין מיני היוא בישא

Evil creatures which developed from him,

ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܐܝܗܘܢ ܓܐܣܝܢ ܓܘܡܝܐ

דַמן פומאיהון גאסין גומיא

spit forth scum from their mouths.

ܓܘܡܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܐܝܗܘܢ

גומיא דַגאסין מן פומאיהון

They spit scum from their mouths;

ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܐܝܘܢ ܦܐܫܪܝܐ

דַמן פומאיון פאשריא

They expectorate from their mouths,

ܐܡܝܢܛܘܠ ܕܗܝܡܬܐ ܕܢܐܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ

אמינטול דַהימתא דַנאפשאיהון

because they try to expel their own venom

ܡܐܦܩܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܐܪܘܢ[1193]

מאפקיא מן גוארון

from their digestive organs (from their inside).

[1193] ܓܘܐܪܐ *guara*: (cf. P. گوارا digestion) digestive organs, stomach, belly, interior, inside; (= *gubara*) male organ (MD P. 82).



האלין תרין כוכביא קיריאתון

The creatures of those two stars



כַד הדאדיא האוין

are like each other.



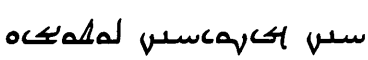
קריתא דַקרון צילמיא

From the creation which Gemini created,



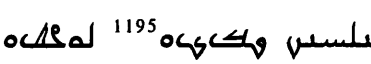
דַכולהון לאטאביא מינאיהון נפאק

all the devils came forth.



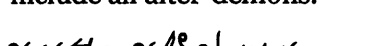
הון מינאיהון לאטאביא

The devils who were from them,



דַכולהון פריכיא לאגטיא

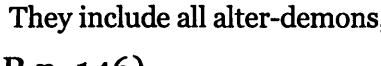
include all alter-demons.



הינון לאגטיא פריאכיא

They include all alter-demons,

(GRR p. 146)



הינון גאדאדיא לאגטיא

and they hold the river-banks (or: destinies?)



קאלא דַקרא סארטאמא

1194  pl. *laṭaba* (lit. 'not-good-one') fiend, evil one, devil (Ibid p. 228).

1195  pl. *prika* (Akk. Parakku(m)) shrines. A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 265.

1196  BL 23601: 57v. See *gada* (MD, p. 73).

From the call which Cancer uttered

ܕܟܘܠ ܗܝܘ ܟܐܟܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘ

דַכול היוא כאכא מינהַ הוא

issued all voracious animals.

ܟܐܟܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘ ܗܝܘ ܟܐܟܐ

מינהַ הוא היוא כאכא

Voracious animals issued from this

ܕܥܬܝܩܪܝܐ ܠܒܝܫ ܥܠ ܐܠܡܐ

דַעתיקריא לביש על אלמא

cause evil in the world.

ܐܠܡܐ ܟܐܩܪܐ ܕܩܐܠܐ ܐܪܝܐ

קאלא דַקרא אריא

From the call which Leo uttered

ܕܟܘܠ ܗܝܘ ܒܐܠܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘ

דַכול היוא באלא מינהַ הוא

issued all wild animals.

ܒܐܠܐ ܡܝܢܗ ܗܘ ܗܝܘ ܒܐܠܐ

מינהַ הוא מיוא באלא

The wild animals that issued therefrom,

[1197]ܥܠ ܢܫܬܡܬܐ ܡܫܬܠܐ

דַעל ניתשמאתא מישתלא

are sent against the souls.

ܡܫܬܠܐ ܥܠ ܢܫܡܬܐ

מישתלא על נישמאתא

They are sent against the souls,

ܘܢܝܫܘܢ ܐܘܩܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ

וניישאון האוקא באלמא

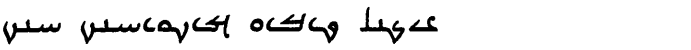
and produce panic in the world.

[1197] ܥܠ ܢܫܬܡܬܐ not in BL 23601 57v: 26.



קאלא דַקרא שומבלתא

From the call which Virgo uttered,



דַכול פיריא מינאיהון הון

all the fruit came into being.



הון מינאיהון כול פיריא

All the fruit, grapes and trees that came therefrom,



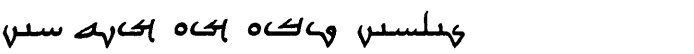
דַמראוזיבה באלמא

are flourishing in the world.



קילא דַקרא קאינא

From the call which Libra uttered,



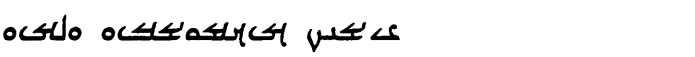
כולהון פיריא מיא מינה הון

the water-fruit came into being.



הון פיריא בישיא

The evil fruit came into being,



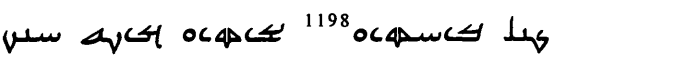
דַבון מיתקאבריא אלמיא

wherewith the worlds was covered.



קאלא דַקראת ארקבא

From the call which Scorpio uttered,

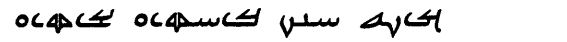


[1198]

[1198] BL 23600 56v: 15 & BLO 1236: 56v: 15

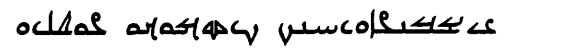
כול ריהשיא בישיא מינהַ הון

all evil vermin (or: harmful reptiles) came into being.



מינהַ הון ריהשיא בישיא

The evil vermin that came forth from it,



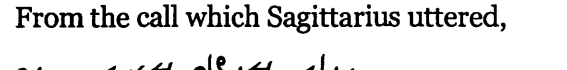
דַברוגזאיהון נישמאתא גאטליא

kill people with their wrath.



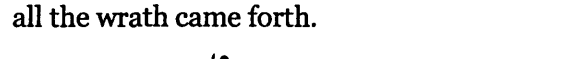
קאלא דַקרא היטיא

From the call which Sagittarius uttered,



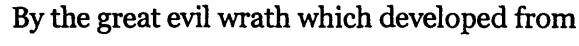
כולהַ רוגזא מינהַ הוא

all the wrath came forth.



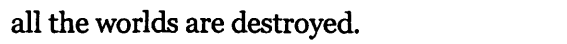
הוא מינהַ רוגזא רבא בישא

By the great evil wrath which developed from it,



דַבהַ מיסתאפיבהַ כולהון אלמא

all the worlds are destroyed.



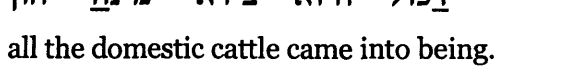
קאלא דַקרא גאדיא

From the call which Capricorn uttered,



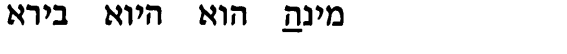
דַכול היוא בירא מינהַ הון

all the domestic cattle came into being.



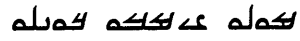
מינהַ הוא היוא בירא

Of the domestic cattle which came into being therefrom,



דַגאנפה האסיר ובציר מן ציפרא

their wings are weaker and less perfect than (those of) birds.



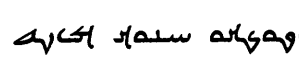
קאלא דַקרא דאולא

From the call which Aquarius uttered,



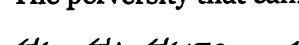
הואת מינה אפאכתא

perversity came forth.



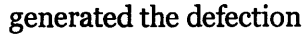
אפאכתא הואת מינה

The perversity that came forth thereform,



והוא מינה האסיר ובציר

generated the defection and error.



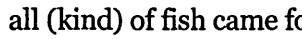
קאלא דַקרא נונא

From the call which Pisces uttered,



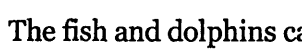
דַכולהון נוניא מינה הון

all (kind) of fish came forth.



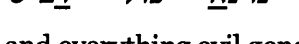
הון נוניא ודילפוניא

The fish and dolphins came forth,



והוא מינה כול דַביש

and everything evil generated from it.



האלין כולהון הון מן כוכביא תריסאר

All those who came forth from the twelve stars

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ

דַאמריא לשורבתא דַהייא נוסקא

declared, "We want to remove the family of Life."

ܐܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܫܘܪܒܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܢܣܩ

קאם כוכביא שובא ופאלגנון במנאואתא

The Seven (planets) set out to allot the shares.

ܫܒ̈ܥܐ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܦܠܓܢ ܡܢܘܬܐ

מנאואתא פאלגנון

The allotted the shares,

ܘܡܪܟܒ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܒܡܨܥ ܥܒ̈ܕܘ

ומארכאבאתא שאון באלבאב עשומיא

and produced (launched ?) (celestial) chariots in the centre of heavens.

(GRR p. 147)

[1199]ܘܟܕ ܥܒ̈ܕܘ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ

מא דַאבאד כולהון דַאמריא

As soon as they have done all that, they said:

ܐܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܫܘܪܒܬܐ ܢܣܩ

נאסקא לשורבתא דַהייא

"Let us remove the Family of Life.

ܢܣܩ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܫܘܪܒܬܐ

לשורבתא דַהייא ניסקא

Let us remove the Family of Life,

ܕܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܩܐܝܡܝܐ ܠܬܝܓܪܐ

דַכול יום קאימיא לתיגרא

who set off a strife every day."

ܠܬܝܓܪܐ ܩܐܝܡܝܐ

[1199] BL 23600 56v: 27 & BLO 1236: 56v: 27 ܘܟܕ ܥܒ̈ܕܘ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ

לאיאדיא שיביאהיא

But the Seven Planets,



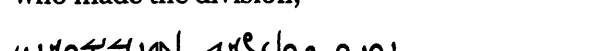
בנהַ דַאורא באטלא

the sons of the futile abode,



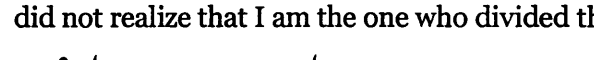
דַהינון פלוגתא פאליג

who made the division,



ואנא פאליגתהַ לשורבאתון

did not realize that I am the one who divided their race.



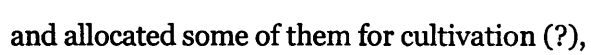
לשורבאתון פאליגתהַ

I divided their race,



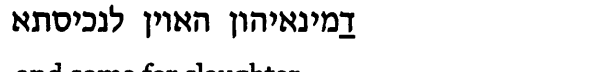
דַמינאיהון האוין למארדיתא

and allocated some of them for cultivation (?),



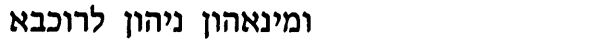
דַמינאיהון האוין לנכיסתא

and some for slaughter,



ומינאהון ניהון לרוכבא

Some of them were allocated for riding,



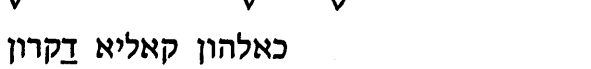
ומינאהון למיכאל

and the other for eating.



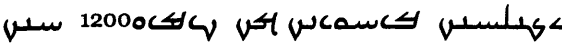
כאלהון קאליא דַקרון

All the calls they made,



אמינטול לאדאם עתיקרון

were made for the sake of Adam,



אמינטול ד כולהון ריהאיון מן ניקריא הון

because they all obtained their smell from the sacrifices.



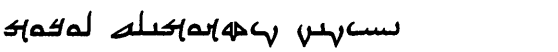
האלין דַקרון קאליא

Those who made the call,



מארדיתא נירדון

should pursue the course,



והינון נישתאמולה לאדאם

and they must obey Adam,



ונישתאמולה לכולה שורבתה

and obey all his race.



כד האזין אבאדילון לשיביאהיא

When I dealt with the Seven in this way,



תום לאהואלון מאמלא

they were unable to speak.



כד האויתה לאדאם

When I disclosed the matter to Adam,

1200 Akk. *nuqu(m)* also *niq'um* 'offering, sacrifice'. (A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 255. See also MD, p. 229)



הדא ועתבאסאם מן ריש בריש

he rejoiced and was fully glad.



אנא אעותריא אהאי

My brothers, the *uthras*, and I



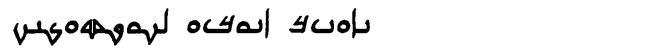
קאמית ואפרישתה לאדאם וכולה שורבתה

set off to teach Adam and all his family.



אמארילון עביד עבאדיא טאביא

We spoke to them, "Do the good deeds,



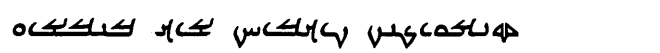
וזאויד זואדיא לנאפשאיכון

and provide yourselves with provisions.



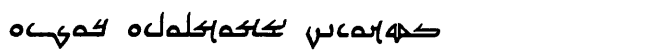
קרון קאלא דַהייא

Recite the word of Life,



שומאיכון ניתריץ בית רורביא

so your names will be established in the House of the Great Ones.



עשתאיון במאמלאליא דאכיא

Speak with pure words,



דַבשלום דאכיא מיתקאימון

so you will be confirmed in pure peace.



עשתאיון בטאבותא

Speak with kindness,



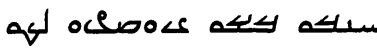
ואפ בישותא לאתימרון

and do not speak with evilness (or: cruelty).



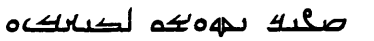
סגוד ושאבא לרביא

Worship and praise the Great one



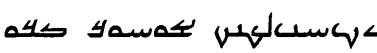
ולנהורא רבא דאסגיא לכא

and the great Light that arrived hither.



סגוד ושאבא לעותריא

Worship and praise the *uthras*,



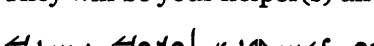
דניהוילכון באהאד עדא

who will be your helper(s).



אהאד עדא וסימאכא

They will be your helper(s) and support,



מן אתרא דהשוך לאתאר נהור

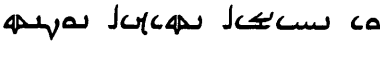
from the place of darkness to the place of Light."





ומשאבין הייא אמקאיאם מאנדא דהייא

The Life is praised and Manda d-Hiia is confirmed.



בריך שאמאיכון שילמאי ונידבאי והיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

Blessed are your names Šelmai, Nedbai and Anoš.



הייא זאכין לכולהון עובאדיא וזאכיא יאואר זיוא ואדיאורה

Life is victorious upon all deeds. Yauar Ziwa and his helpers are triumphant.



האזין סימרא דשותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the First Book of the Living Doctrine

Bibliography

Bibliography

Albright, W. F., "The Canaanite God Haurōn (Hōrōn)", AJSL, vol. 53, No. 1. (Oct., 1936), p. 1-12 esp. pp. 11, 12.

Albright, W. F., "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom", AJSL, vol. 36, No. 4. (Jul., 1920), pp. 258-294.

Alexander, R. L., "The Signe Royal at Fraktin", JNES, vol. 36, No. 3, (1977), pp. 199-207.

Allberry, C. R. C., *Manichean Psalm-Book*, Part II, Stuttgart (1938).

Barnett, R. D., "A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque", Anatolian Studies, vol. 30 (1980), pp. 169-178.

Bauckham, R., "The Fall of the Angels s the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria", *Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 3, No. 4, (1985), pp. 313-330.

Beyer, K., *The Aramaic Language; Its Distribution and Subdivisions*, translated from the German by John F. Healey, Göttingen (1986)

Bhayro, S., *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11*, AOAT 322, Münster (2005).

Blackman A. M., "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 47-59.

Borghero, R. "Some Phonetic Features of A Mandaean Manuscript from the 17th Century" ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Brandt W., Die Mandäische Religion, Leipzig, Utricht 1889

Buckley, J. J., "A Re-Investigation of the Book of John", ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Buckley, J. J., "The Colophons in the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans", JNES, 51/1 (1992).

Buckley, J. J., *The Great Stem of Souls*, New Jersey (2005).

Buckley, J. J., "The Use of Colophons and Scribal Postscripts in Envisioning Mandaean History", ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000). 281-292.

Buckley, J. J., "The Colophons in H. Petermann's Sidra Rba", JRAS (Ser. II) 51/1 (1995).

Buckley, J. J., *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship; Diwan Malkuta 'Laita*, American Oriental Society, Connecticut (1993).

Buckley, J. J., *The Mandaeans*, Oxford (2002).

Buckley, J. J., "The Mandaean Ṭabhata Masiqta", *Numen*, vol. 28, Fasc. 2. (Dec., 1981), pp. 138-163.

Buckley, J. J., "Why Once Is Not Enough: Mandaean Baptism (Maṣbuta) as an Example of Repeated Ritual", HR, vol. 29, No. 1. (Aug., 1989), pp. 23-34.

Budge E. A. W., *Amulets and Superstitions;* Oxford University Press 1930.

Budge E. A. W., *Babylonian Life and History*, London; The Religious Tract Society, Second Edition (1925).

Budge E. A. Wallis, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London (1904).

Burkitt F. C., "The Religion of the Manichees", JR, vol. 2, No. 3. (May 1922) pp. 263-276.

Burtea B., "Šarh d̲-Paruanaiia, A Mandaean Ritual Explanatory Commentary", ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Burtea B., *Das mandäische Fest der Schalttage*, Wiesbaden (2005).

Cantor N. F., *Alexander the Great*, Harper Colin Publisher, New York (2005).

Charlesworth, J. H., *The Odes of Solomon,* Montana (1977).

Coxon, P. W., "Script Analysis and Mandaean Origins", JSS, vol. XV (1970).

Curtis, V. S., *Persian Myths*, British Museum Press, London (1993)

Daniels P. T., *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, (1993).

Dalley S., *Myths from Mesopotamia*, Oxford (2000).

Dawkins J., "The Seal of Solomon", JRAS, (1943-44), pp. 145- 150.

Deutsch, N., *Guardians of the Gate*, Brill (1999).

Deutsch, N., *The Gnostic Imagination*, Leiden (1995).

Deutsch, N., "The Date Palm and the Wellspring: Mandaeism and Jewish Mysticism", ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 209-223.

Doresse, J., *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, New York (1960).

Drijvers, H. J. W., "Quq and the Quqites: An Unknown Sect in Edessa in the second Century A.D.", *Numen*, vol. 14, (Jul., 1967), pp. 104-129.

Drower, E. S., "A Mandaean Bibliography", JRAS (1953), pp. 34-39.

Drower, E. S., "A Mandaean Book of Black Magic", JRAS (1941) page 149-181.

Drower, E. S., "A Mandaean Phylactery", *Iraq*, 5, (1938), pp. 31-54.

Drower, E. S., *A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries (Two Priestly Documents). The Great 'First World' and the Lesser 'First World'*, Leiden (1963).

Drower, E. S., *Diwan Abatur*, Vatican City (1950).

Drower, E. S., "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, 25 (1962), pp. 438-48.

Drower, E. S., "Phylactery for Rue. An invocation of the Personified Herb", *Or*, 15, (1946), pp. 324-46

Drower, E. S., "Scenes and Sacraments in a Mandaean Sanctuary", *Numen*, 3, 1956, pp. 72-76

Drower, E. S., "Šipta ḏ-Pišra ḏ-Ainia", JRAS, (Oct., 1937) pp. 589-611; (Jan., 1938) pp. 1-20

Drower, E. S., *The Book of Zodiac "Sfar Malwašia"*, Oriental Translation Fund, vol. 36, London (1949)

Drower, E. S., *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans*, Leiden: Brill, (1959)

Drower, E. S., *The Coronation of the Great Šišlam*, Leiden, (1962)

Drower, E. S., *The Haran Gawita* and *The Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*, Vatican City (1953)

Drower, E. S., *The Mandaean New Year Festival*, Man, vol. 36. (Nov., 1936), pp. 185-188.

Drower, E. S., "The Role of Fire in Parsi Ritual", the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 74, No. ½. (1944), pp. 75-89.

Drower, E. S., *The Secret Adam, A Study of Naṣoraean Gnosis*, Oxford (1960).

Drower, E. S., *The Thousand and Twelve Questions "Alf Trisar Šuialia"*, Berlin (1960).

Drower, E. S., *Water into Wine*, London, (1956).

Eisler, R., *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, London (1931).

Filoramo, G., *A History of Gnosticism*; translated by Anthony Alcock, Oxford (1990).

Foerster, W., *Gnosis, A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, Oxford (1972-1974).

Franzmann M., "Living Water: Mediating Element in Mandaean Myth and Ritual", *Numen*, vol. 36, No. 2 (Dec. 1989) pp. 156-172.

Gardner I. and Lieu S. N. C., *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2004.

Gaster, Moses: "The Mandaeans in the light of the latest research", JRCAS XXV, 1938, 68-81.

Gershevitch, I., *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge (1967).

Godwin, J., *Mystery Religions*, London (1981).

Gordon C. H., (review) "The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa" by Drower, JRAS (1956) pp. 101 -02.

Gordon C. H., (review) "Mandaism by Kurt Rudolph", JAOS, Vol. 99, No. 3. (Jul-Sep., 1979), p. 476.

Gordon C. H., (review) "Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic by Rudolf Macuch", JAOS, vol. 26, No. 2 (Apr., 1967), pp. 133-135.

Gordon C. H., 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', apud *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, (1966), 1-7.

Greenfield, J. C., "Aramaic and the Jews", Journal of Semetic Studies Supplement 4; Studia Aramaic, Edited by M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield and M. P. Weitzman (1995).

Greenfield, J., "A Mandaic Miscellany", JOAS, 104, 1084, PP 81-85.

Greenfield, J., "On Mandaic Poetic Technique", *Studia Semitica Necnon Iranica*, Wiesbaden (1989). Pp. 101-108.

Gündüz, Ş., *The Knowledge of Life: The Origins and Early History of the Mandaeans'*, Manchester (1994).

Gündüz, Ş., "Problems on the Muslim Understanding of the Mandaeans", Aram, 11-12 (1999-2000). 269-279.

Gündüz Ş., "Mandaean Parallels in Yezidī Beliefs and Folklore", ARAM, vol., XVI 2004.

Hanson D., "Rebellion in Heaven", JBL, vol. 96, No. 2 (Jun., 1977), pp. 195-233.

Henrichs, A., "Mani and the Babylonian Baptists: A Historical Confrontation", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. 77, (1973), pp. 23-59.

Herzfeld, E. E., *Archaeological History of Iran*, London (1934).

Hooke, S. H., *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion*, London, (1953).

Ibn al-Nadim, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim, A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, edited and translated by Dodge B., London (1970).

Jacobsen, Th. *The Treasures of Darkness*, New Haven and London (1976).

Jones, F. S., "The Book of Elchasai", ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Johns, A. F., *A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, Michigan (2003).

Jonas, H., "The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics", JR, vol. 42, No. 4. (Oct., 1962), pp. 262-273.

Jonas, H., *The Gnostic Religion; The Message of the Alien God and the Beginning of Christianity*, Boston 1958.

Kaufman, S. A. *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic and the Development of the Aramaic*, Michigan (1971).

King K. L., *What is Gnosticism?* London (2005).

Kingsland, W., *The Gnosis or Ancient Wisdom in the Christian Scriptures*, London (1937).

Klimkeit, H. J., *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, San Francisco (1993).

Klugkist, A. "The Origin of the Mandaic Script", *Scripta Signa Vocis*, edited by H. L. J. Vanstiphout, K. Jongeling, F. Leembuis and G. J. Reinink, Egbert Forsten Groningen (1986) pp. 111 – 17.

Kraeling, C. H., "The Mandaic God Ptahil", JAOS, vol. 53, No 2. (Jun., 1933), pp. 152-165.

Kraeling, C. H., "The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandaeans", JAOS, vol. 49. (1929), pp. 195-218.

Kramer, S. N., and Maier, J., *Myths of Enki, the Crafty God*, Oxford University press (1989).

Kramer, S. N., *The Sacred Marriage: aspects of faith, myth, and ritual in ancient Sumer.*. Indiana University Press (1969).

Kramer, S. N., *History Begins at Sumer*, The Falcon's Wing Press (1961).

Læssøe, J., *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series 'bît rimki'*; København: Munksgaard (1955).

Lambert, W. G., *The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon*, Ancient Cosmologies, London 1975.

Lambert, W. G., "The Babylon Epic of Creation *Enûma elish*" (translation), edited by M. Geller & M. Schipper, *Imagining Creation*, Brill (2007), p. 7: 19-24.

Langdon, S., *Babylonian Wisdom*, London (1923).

Levene D., "Curse or Blessing. What's in the Magic Bowl?" The Ian Karten Lecture 2002 - University of Southampton, Parkers Institute Pamphlet No. 2.

Lewis Th. J., "CT 13.33-34 and Ezekiel 32: Lion-Dragon Myths", JOAS, vol. 116, No. 1. (Jan. – Mar., 1996), pp. 28-47.

Lidzbarski, M., *Ginza. Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer übersetzt und erklärt*, Göttingen (1925).

Lidzbarski, M., *Mandäische Liturgien mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin (1920).

Lidzbarski, M., *Mandaean Prayers and Hymns*, (*Mandäische Liturgien*) Book I; Translated from German into Arabic by: Carlos Gelbert, Sydney (2002).

Lidzbarski M., *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, Töpelmann, Giessen (1915)

Lupieri, E., *The Mandaeans; The Last Gnostics*, translated by Charles Hindley, Cambridge (2002).

Lupieri, E., "Friar Ignatius of Jesus (Carlo Leonelli) and The First "Scholarly" Book on Mandaeanism (1652)", ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Macuch, R., *Handbook of Classical & Modern Mandaic*, Berlin (1965).

Macuch, R., *The Origin of the Mandaeans and Their Script*, Journal of Semitic Studies 16, (1971), pp. 174-192.

Marcus, M. I., "The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution", *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 73, No. 4 (Dec. 1991) pp. 536-560.

McCullough, W. S., *Jewish and Mandaean Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum Toronto,* Toronto (1967).

Mead, G. R. S., *John the Baptist*; Selections from the Mandaean John-Book, John M. Watkins, London (1924).

Mercer, S. A., *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London (1949).

Merkur, D., *Gnosis; An Esoteric Tradition of Mystical Visions and Unions*, University of New York Press (1993).

Montgomery, J. A., *Aramaic Incantation texts from Nippur*, (University of Pennsylvania The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section vol. III) Philadelphia (1913).

Morony, M. G., *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, New Jersey (1984).

Müller-Kessler, Ch., "Puzzling Words and Spellings in Babylonian Aramaic bowls", BSOAS, vol. 62, No. 1 (1999) pp. 111-114.

Müller-Kessler, Ch., "Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations and its Rendering in Various Eastern Aramaic Dialects". A Collection of Magic Terminology, Aram, 11-12 (1999-2000). 293-310.

Müller-Kessler, Ch., "The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin", ARAM, 16 (2004) 47-60.

Müller-Kessler, Ch., "A Mandaic Gold Amulet in the British Museum", BASOR (1998), pp. 84-88.

Müller-Kessler, Ch., "The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin", Aram Periodical, vol. XVI (2004).

Myer, I., *Qabbalah; The Philosophical Writings of Avicebron*, London (1970)

Nanavutty P., *The Gaths of Zarathushtra* (Translation and Commentary) Ahmedabad (1999).

Neusner, J., "How Much Iranian in Jewish Babylonian?" JOAS, vol. 95, No. 2 (Apr-Jun 1975), pp. 184-190.

Naveh, J., Early History of the Alphabet, Leiden (1982).

Naveh, J., The Development of the Aramaic Script, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem (1970).

Naveh, J., "The Origin of the Mandaic Script", BASOR, No. 198. (Apr., 1970), pp. 32-37.

Nichelsburg G. W., *Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11*, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 96, No. 3. (Sep. 1977), pp. 383-405.

Nöldke, Th. *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle (1875).

Pallis, S. A., *Mandaean Studies*. Philo Press, Amsterdam, Reprint 1974 of the edition London, Copenhagen (1926).

Pallis, S. A., *Mandaean Bibliography* 1560 – 1930. Copenhagen: V. Pio, 1933. Reprint Amsterdam: Philo, (1974).

Pennacchieti, F. A., An Arbo-Islamic *Tale in Agreement with the Mandaean Belief that John the Baptist got married.* Aram, 11-12 (1999-2000) 233-236.

Peters F. E., *The Harvest of Hellenism*, London (1972).

Pistorius, Ph. V., *'Plotinus and Newplatonism'*; An Introductory Study, Cambridge (1952).

Quirke, S., *The Cult of Ra; Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt*, Thames & Hudson (2001).

Quispel, G., *Ezekiel 1: 26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis*, Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Mar., 1980), pp. 1-13.

Quispel, G., *Gnosticism and the New Testament*, Vigiliae Christianae, vol. 19, No 2. (Jan., 1965), pp. 65-85.

Quispel, G., *Judaism, Judaic, Christianity and Gnosis*, *The New Testament and Gnosis*: Essays in Honour of Robert McL. Wilson, A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn, Edinburgh (1983).

Quispel, G., *Gnostic Studies*, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (1975).

Reeves, J. C., *Heralds of that Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnostic and Jewish Traditions*, Leiden, New York, Köln (1996).

Rendsburg, G. A., "Kabbīr in Biblical Hebrew: Evidence for Style-Switching and Addressee-Switching in the Hebrew Bible", JAOS, vol. 112, No. 4. (Oct.-Dec., 1992), pp. 649-651.

Ringgren, H., *Religions of he Ancient Near East*, translated by John Sturdy, Philadelphia (1973).

Rochberg, F., *The Babyonian Origins of the Mandaean Book of the Zodiac*, Aram, 11-12 (1999-2000), 237-247.

Rose, H. J., Review: "Mandaeans and Christians", *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe by R. Retzenstein*; L. Troje, The Classical Review, vol. 43, No. 5 (Nov., 1929), pp. 184-185.

Roux G., *Ancient Iraq,* London (1964).

Rudolph, K., *Gnosis, The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, Translation edited by: Rober McLachlan, Edinburgh (1983).

Rudolph, K., *'"Gnosis" and "Gnosticism" – The Problems of Their Definition and Their Relation to the Writings of the New Testament'*, The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays edited by A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn.

Rudolph, K., "Problems of a History of the Development of the Mandaean Religion", HR, 8 (1969) p. 233-234.

Rudolph, K., *'Mandaeism'* Leiden (1978).

Rudolph, K., *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandäischen Schriften* (1965), Arabic Translation by: S. Alsuhairi, Baghdad (1994).

Rudolph, K., "The Relevance of Mandaean Literature For the Study of Near Eastern Religions", ARAM, vol. XVI (2004).

Säve-Söderbergh, T., *Studies in the Coptic Manichean Psalm-Book; Prosody and Mandaean Parallels*, Uppsala (1949).

Scholem, G., Origins *of the Kaballah*, Berlin 1962, translated from the German by: Allan Arkush1987.

Schoff, W. H., *Parthian Stations By Isidore of Charax*, Philadelphia, (1914).

Segal, J. B., with a contribution E. C. D. Hunter, *Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*, British Museum (2000).

Segelberg, E., *Maşbuta: Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism*, Uppsala (1958).

Segelberg, E., *Trāşa d-Tāga d-Šišlam Rabbā;* Studies in the rite called the Coronation of Šišlam Rabbā, in Studia Mandaica, ed. R. Macuch, Band I, Berlin, New York (1976), pp. 171-224.

Smith, W. C., *The Meaning and End of Religion*, New York (1964).

Sundlberg, W., *Kushṭa, A monograph on a Principal Word in Mandaean Texts – I The Descending Knowledge,* Lund (1953).

Shaked, Sh., *Dualism in Transformation*, London (1994).

Stroumsa, Gedaliahu A. G., *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, Leiden (1984).

Stoyanov, Y., *The Other God*, New Haven, London, (2000).

Tarelco, M., "A Magical Scroll From the Drower Collection", Aram, 11-12 (1999-2000).

Taqizadeh, S. H., "An Ancient Persian Practice Preserved by non-Iranian People: The Mandaean Calendar", BSOS Vol. 9, No. 3 (1938), pp. 603-619.

Taqizadeh, S. H., "The Old Calendar Again", BSOAS, vol. 14, No.3, (1952), pp. 603-611.

The Old and New Testaments, The Holy Scriptures, Hebrew-English, UK (2002).

Vida, G. Levi Della, "A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?" JAOS , vol. 68, No. 3. (Jul.-Sep., 1948), pp. 148-149.

Waddell, L. A., *The Makers of Civilization in Race & History;* London, (1929).

Wasserstrom, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis Under Early Islam,* Princeton, New Jersey (1995).

Welburn, A., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Edinburgh (1991).

Westenholz, J. G., "Tamar, Qedša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia", The Harvard Theological Review, vol. 82, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 245-265.

Widengren, G., *Mani and Manichaeism*, Stuttgart 1961, English translation C. Kessler, London (1965).

Widengren, G., *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism (King Savior II)*; Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift (1946).

Widengren, G., *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book*; Uppsala (1950)

Wilson, R., *The Gnostic Problem*, London (1958)

Winston, D., "The Book of Wisdom's Theory of Cosmogony", HR vol. 11, No. 2 (Nov., 1971), pp. 185-202.

Wolfson, E. R., "Light through Darkness: The Ideal of Human Perfection in the Zohar". The Harvard Theological Review, vol. 81, No. 1. (Jan., 1988), pp. 73-95.

Yamauchi, E. M., *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins.* (Harvard Theological Studies XXIV), Cambridge (1970).

Yamauchi, E. M., "Mandaic Incantations: Lead Rolls and Magic Bowls", ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), 253-268 .

Yamauchi, E. M., *Mandaic Incantation Texts*, American Oriental Series, vol. 49, New Haven (1967).

Yamauchi, E. M., *Pre-Christian Gnosticism. A Survey of the Proposed Evidences*, London (1973).

Yamauchi, E. M., "The Present Status of Mandaean Studies", JNES, 25 (1966), pp. 88-96.

Zaehner, R. C., *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London (1961).

Zaehner, R. C., *Zurvan; A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, (1955).

Zalcman, L., "Christians, Noşerim, and Nebuchadnezzar's Daughter", The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Ser., vol. 81, No. ¾. (Jan –Apr., 1991), pp. 411-426

Dictionaries

A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, edited by Jeremy Black, Andrew George and Nicholas Postgate, 2nd (corrected) printing (2000).

A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egypt, by Faulkner R. O., Oxford (2002).

A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic by Michael Sokoloff, second edition (2002).

Akkadisches Handwörterbuch / unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner ; bearbeitet von Wolfram von Soden, Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, (1965-1981).

A Mandaic Dictionary, edited by E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, Oxford (1963).

A Mandaic - Arabic Dictionary, edited by Abid Rba K., Baghdad (2004).

Al-Mawrid English – Arabic Dictionary, edited by M. Ba'albaki, Beirut (1981).
The Hans Wehr Arabic - English Dictionary, edited by J M. Cowan, New York (1976).
Almu'jam Alwasiyţ Arabic – Arabic Dictionary, Cairo (1972).
Dictionnaire Syriaque – Français, Syriac – English Dictionary, edited by Lois Costaz, S. J. Beyrouth (1963).
Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature by Marcus Jastrow. New York (1996).
Hebrew – Arabic Dictionary by Hizqial Qujaman. Kul Sahi Library, Haifa, Israel (2003).

Mandaean Holy Books, Scrolls and Diwans

Alf Trisar Šuialia.
Ginza Rba (5 manuscripts).
Diwan Abatur.
Diwan Malkuta 'Laita.
Diwan Dmut-Kušţa.
Draša d-Yahia.
Haran Gawaitȧ.
Kdaba d-'Niania.
Masiqta
Maşbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa.
Qabin Šišlam.
Qalista
Sidra d-Nišmata.
Sfar Milwašia.
Ţrasa d-Taga d-Šišlam Rba.

Arabic

Al-Beruni, *al-Athar al-Baqiah*, Leipzig (1923).

Al-Dibaji, M., *Al-'Udaba' al-Şabi'a fi Al'şr Al-Abassi*, Rabat (1989).

Al-Khaiiūn, R., *Al-Adian ulMathahib bil Iraq*, Köln (2003).

Al-Kitab al-Muqadas "*The Holy Bible*".

Al-Masûdī, *Kitab al-Tanbih wa'l-Ischrāf*, Brill, Leiden (1894).

Al-Majidi, K., *Al-Mu'taqadat al-Aramiia*, Amman (2000).

Al-Sabti, R., *Al-Ta'mīd Al-Manda'i*, Baghdad (1990).

Al-Sabti, R., *Masiqta*, Nijmegen (2004).

Al-Sawah, F., *Aram Dimashq u'Israiil*, Damascus (2002).

Al-Sawah, *Al-Wajh al-Akhar lil Masih*, Damascus (2004).

Gelbert, C., *Al-'Di'iia ultratil alManda'iia*, translation based on Lidzbarski's *Mandäische Liturgien*, Sydney (2002).

Gelbert, C., *Ginza Rba*, translation based on Lidzbarski's Ginza, *Das Grosse Buch Der Mandaeer*, Sydney (2000).

'Ibn al-Nadim, Muhammad ibn Ishaq, *kitab al fihrist*, Beirut (1994).

Muranni, N., *Mafaheem Şab'iia Manda'iia*, Baghdad (1981).

Qūzi, *Ginza Rba*, Baghdad (2000).

Sbahi, A. *Uşūl al-Şab'a uMu'taqadatihim alDiniia*, Damscus (1996).

'Ulaian, R., *Al-Şab'ūn Haraniin uManda'iin*, Baghdad (1976).

The Holy Qura'an.